# ŞEVEN PRIVATE TOMBS AT KURNAH

N. DE GARIS DAVIES

ALAN H. GARDINER

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### EDITORIAL PREFACE

The appearance of the present volume will mark the accomplishment of a task undertaken by one of British Egyptology's most skilled and industrious field-workers at the behest of perhaps its greatest benefactor. Among the many important archaeological enterprises in the Necropolis of Thebes for which the late Sir Robert Mond made himself responsible, the excavation and restoration of the superb tomb of the Vizier Ra mose were certainly those which lay closest to his heart. But excavation carries with it the duty of publication, and in that case nothing but a memoir of the finest artistic quality could suffice. The difficulties encountered in securing reproductions and letterpress worthy of the occasion were recounted in the Preface to the actual book, which appeared in 1941, too late, alas, to be enjoyed by its munificent initiator. Lady Mond had, however, generously consented to finance not only this splendid memorial to her late husband, but also a subsidiary volume dealing with a number of less important tombs which he had discovered at different times, but mostly in the same neighbourhood.

This second work was, like the first, entrusted to the unrivalled talent of Norman de Garis Davies, who had collected the necessary material in such leisure as he could spare from his official labours on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. Unfortunately, Davies was not himself destined to carry through to a finish the present volume. The Plates were already inked in and awaited only final rearrangement, and much of the text, distinguished by Davies's usual vivacity of style and rare sense of humour, needed nothing but final revision before being passed on to the printer. Nevertheless, there still remained much scope for an editorial hand, particularly on the philological side; so much so that Mrs. Davies felt unable to complete the undertaking alone. The help she required has been gladly accorded by the present Editor, who devoutly hopes that in his handling of Davies's descriptions he has not exceeded his duty. It seemed necessary to make considerable changes in the translations of hieroglyphic texts; besides which, Davies's older note-books sometimes yielded information which modified or added to his later results. At the same time it was felt wrong to foist upon an author, no longer living. matter of which he might not have approved, so that it was deemed expedient, in spite of their somewhat awkward appearance, to enclose in square brackets statements or comments not due to Davies's own pen. At every stage Mrs. Davies has lent both encouragement and actual assistance.

The circumstances of the times would in any case have precluded publication on the same sumptuous scale as that of the previous volume. Happily the material here published, though full of interest, lacks the artistic merit which would have justified a treatment so costly. No pains have been spared, however, to give this second memoir an appearance adequate to its subjects, and all thanks are due to the Chiswick Press, which executed the Plates, and to the Oxford University Press, to which fell the task of printing and binding, for the excellent manner in which they have acquitted themselves of their respective functions. To Lady Mond, advised by Sir Robert's Trustees, Egyptologists owe a deep debt of gratitude for her willingness to finance this book. Lastly, the Editor is indebted to Mr. R. O. Faulkner for consenting to compile the Index.

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#### CHAPTER I

# THE TOMB OF DHOUT, USURPED BY DHUTEMHAB (No. 45)

### I. SITE AND CHARACTER

The tomb lies a little way to the true south of the well-known tomb of Kharemhët (No. 57), and is entered, like all others in the plain, from a sunken courtyard, dug out in what is almost level ground, scarcely to be called rock. As the court is shallow, the rooms themselves are placed much lower and reached by four steps lying within the courtyard and the thickness of the rock wall. Owing to the poor quality of the ground, the entrance and its reveals had to be built up in brick; the doorway may have been bridged by a mud, stone, or brick arch. The court is irregular in shape and its limits are now obliterated by Mond's retaining walls. The tomb within is a poor affair, comporting neither with the period, that of Amenophis II, nor with Dhout's own standing. Possibly it was left for sons to provide, who, being unable or unwilling to bury their father with due honour, ended by decorating only the north bay of the outer room.

Even a glance at the plan (Pl. I) will suggest the truth that the excavated chambers are devoid of dignity or good workmanship. The presence in the tomb of typical Eighteenth work which no one of the later period could imitate will persuade any expert that it is not Ramesside. Dhutemhab, the usurper, must have felt himself quite at home in it, for even the outer room has the sloping walls and unsymmetrical shape of the smaller tombs of his period. This is true even if the little painted chamber alone belongs to Dhout, and if the badly laid out, unplastered, and undecorated passage beyond it, and the burial chamber, are later additions. The passage stopped abruptly when it met a sloping fault in the rock and perhaps signs of weakness in the roof. So an antechamber was hewn out on the south and from this a twisting ramp led down to a rough place of interment some to feet below. By following the fault in the opposite direction a narrow loculus for burial was also obtained. A tunnel which breaks into the north wall of the passage high up must be a separate burial-place. Few, if any, of such sepulchres are worth study; they are merely despairing devices to secure a place of burial in an overcrowded cemetery.

The tomb was discovered by Mond in his second season of work at Thebes (1903-4), and was cleared and put in order by him. He also copied and published most of the texts,3 and, when I first began to take an interest in the tomb, this publication showed that the mutilation of the walls had taken place either during or shortly after his work there. I found some fragments left by the robbers and was able to replace a few of them. I then had a wooden door fitted to the entrance, which had already been invaded by an inrush of sand. It was in 1907 that I started work at Thebes for the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York, and this tomb was selected by me from the few then open as a convenient one in which to practise as an apprentice the colour-

Throughout this work the orientations found in Davies's typescript have been strictly adhered to. This could be done with the better conscience because the plans always indicate the true points of the compass, besides marking the walls on which the various scenes are situated.

I hope to be followed in using this abbreviation to indicate the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as one speaks of the quattrecents or 'the seventies'.

Annales du Service, vz., pp. 82-4.

up in place; the Egyptians were very adept in making such coatings adhere to the rock walls and roof. A side-slip of the lower rock-stratum was probably the cause of much of the havoc in the tomb, as the line of cleavage was half-way up the walls. Some amount of what has been lost is preserved in fragments, but only those coming from the South Outer Reveal could be replaced. The tomb was known to Lepsius, who copied certain texts there, describing the place as

recently excavated, and also to Schiaparelli. It was again entered by Mond in 1905 and was cleared and fitted with a gate by Weigall in 1908. But, as the back part seemed to be in a state of collapse, it was not fully freed until 1925, when Mond's work behind the site revealed that the shrine was almost intact beyond the debris.2 Later (1937-8), with the help of M. Baraize of the Service des Antiquités, heavy blocks from the entrance were restored to their position, the last contribution, I think, that Sir Robert made to the rehabilitation of the Theban necropolis,

### 2. THE RECORDS

Entrance. The rock thicknesses (reveals) of the entrance were decorated with coloured incised work, but the subsidence of the lower layers of rock has destroyed those portions. Many of the fallen blocks from the South Reveal, however, have been recovered and refitted to a narrow strip that remained on the left (Pl. x, below). Under the Ramesside frieze the family of Khons is depicted, lifting hands or the sistrum, according to sex, towards the sunlight. The text reads: [An adoration of Rer] when he arises on the eastern horizon . . . [by the high-] priest of the lord [of the Two Lands] Men[kheperrer], Khons, born of the house-mistress, Twosret. Khons wears the priestly leopard-skin. The lady behind him is his mother, chantress of Mont, Twosret. The youth behind her again is his son, head of the stable, Usermont living anew (?). The second lady is probably [his wife, chantress] of Amūn, [Mutia]y.3 Two small figures probably accompanied her, as the final texts may read [his (or her) son, second] priest of Menkheperrer, [Kharemweset] and [his (or her) daughter], the chantress (?), Wia[y]. A sub-scene with other ministrants has been lost,

What is preserved of the North Reveal (Pl. x, top) is rougher and has no frieze. Khons, with the variation of a shaven head, is returning to the tomb with his mother (?) and son; as they are now facing west they adore the setting sun. Here the hieroglyphs read: An adoration of Rec when he sets on the western horizon of heaven, that they (sic) may give me (sic) happy existence in the necropolis, going in and coming forth from the earth for ever, and that his soul be not withheld from its desire(?). For the ka of the high-priest of Menkheperrer, (Khons).5

### THE OUTER HALL

EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE (Pl. XI). The upper register introduces us at once to the theme so often reiterated in this tomb, as in others of the time, namely, the worship of the god in his earthly habitation, the veiled shrine which had its place in the sanctuary of the temple. This shrine might have the form of a naos, but often the god reposed in his dahabieh like a monarch who might choose at any time to leave his residence and visit some other part of his dominions by the river road. This craft was only a symbol of his freedom of movement, for it was lashed down on a sled and that again, since it had to pass the doorways and descend the

Lepsius, Denkmäler, Text, III, pp. 262-4; Schiaparelli, Libro dei Funerali, II, pp. 292-3. 2 [See Liverpool Annals, XIV, p. 30.] 3 [For this and the other wife or wives of Khons, see below, pp. 26 ff.] 4 [For these two together again see Pl. XIV.] 5 [According to a note-book the place for the name was left blank.]

river-bank, to long carrying-poles. Thus when the god left or entered his dark retreat it was on the shoulders of his priests. Besides this vessel which lay on its pedestal in the shrine, the god also possessed a real counterpart capable of taking the water and being towed, as the modern dahabieh often is. It is this real craft which we see to the left provided with a naos within which the model bark could be set on its pedestal and be transported, under general acclaim, to other temples across or up or down the river. The damage to this representation can be made good from other walls. The two masts in front of the naos show that this simulates the great temple of the god. On its long pedestal, or alternatively on the balustrade of the shrine, Ramesses II, as the reigning king of the time, is shown making offering to this deity. The pictures of the bark differ in one respect, viz. that the finial at prow and stern formed by the hawk's head of Mont-Rer, crowned with the sun-disk and attached to the collar of his human form, is sometimes represented as single and sometimes as double. In this particular picture possibly the profile of the hawk was duplicated as well. The repetition might indicate that the head was on a flat plate attached to each side of the vessel. The two uraei often seen on the single disk of Mont' may have provided the god of war with special invulnerability. The rather foolish-looking collar was probably adopted because it resembled the neb-sign.

On the prow of the real vessel two figures offer incense, libation, and flowers to the god. One is in vizier's dress, the other in the robes of a priest. The text overhead reveals who they are: Making censing and libation to Mont, lord of On (i.e. Hermonthis, Armant), that he may give good and pure food to the ka of the Osiris, the hereditary lord, the mayor-vizier, Usermont, born of Maia, (and to) the Osiris, the priest of Mont, lord of On, Huy, born of Maia.2 It is surprising that these two brothers should be given prominence without the connexion with the tomb-owner being stated, for Khons does not appear in the episode. Any doubt as to the existence of the vizier Usermont has been settled by the recent discovery at Armant of a much-damaged stela3 containing a ritual prayer to Mont and a hymn to the same god. The cartouche of the reigning king on it has been usurped by Haremhab. Usermont is likely, therefore, to have been in office under Tutcankhamūn or Ay, but not to have continued under Haremhab. No vizier of the first is known, one of the second, and Pracmesse under the last; but by that time there seems to have been a northern, as well as a southern, vizier. A similar harking back to dignitaries of a former age is presented by two other tombs of the same period. In No. 324 (Pl. xxxIII of the present volume, with p. 46 below) this same vizier Usermont is shown without any explicit indication of his connexion with Hatiay, the tomb-owner. Again in No. 51 the vizier Imhotep is depicted in company with his beloved son, the high-priest of Amun, Hapusonb and his father, the high-priest of Amun, Khensemhab.4 A real connexion of the vizier Usermont with the family of Khons seems probable, but the relationship was not supplied to the draughtsman, being perhaps too distant to be defined more closely.5

Farther to the right the two tug-boats are seen, secured to their charge by strong hawsers. But the readiness with which the Egyptian passed from reality to symbol is manifest in that a naval officer in each tug is holding it by a thin rope in token of his eagerness to haul the barge of the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Lanzone, Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia, Pl. CXIX, 3.

The last signs of the name = | | | were written over - | in the first occurrence and over | in the second.

<sup>3</sup> Mond and Myers, Temples of Armant, Pl. 101, 3, with pp. 184 f. in the Text volume.

Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, Pl. xv, with pp. 20 ff. [The genealogical problem here is further discussed by Lefebvre, Histoire des grands prêtres, pp. 64 ff.]

5 [For further remarks on this topic see below, p. 46.]

god. The tugs are war-ships; for, not only are figures of the victorious king and of the god of war painted on the hulls, but the standard of the ship, a naos inscribed with the cartouches of a king and supporting a feather, is upheld by both the commander and an ensign. Further, two marines, standing on the roof of the cabin, are engaged in single-stick exercises to show how ready they are to form a boarding-party. Seven rowers are shown standing to their task. The commander is named His father, standard-bearer of the great regiment of Nebmacrēc, Nebemhēyet. A slaughtered ox seems to indicate that a thank-offering was fitting at the close of the voyage,

Above the tugs are seen four priests obviously welcoming the arrival of the god; each censes a liberal offering piled on stands and pours liquid upon it out of a handsome gold cup shaped like an cankb-sign. All these priests are dressed in leopard-skins and have a peculiar satchel like an cankb-sign. All these priests are dressed in leopard-skins and have a peculiar satchel attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to heir girdles.<sup>3</sup> Their skirts are spotted, a feature which I do not recall elsewhere, attached to their girdles.<sup>3</sup> The partitude for their victories.<sup>4</sup> The first is one Neferhötep, high-priest of Amenophis II,<sup>5</sup> undoubtedly<sup>6</sup> the father of Khons. Each of the others is described as his son; the two first, Nay<sup>7</sup> and Iuy, are high-priests of Tuthmosis I, and the third, Menthotpe, is a lector of Amenophis II.<sup>8</sup> The participation of Khons, his son, the high-priest of Mont, lord of Djorty (Tûd) is reserved for the close of the trip (Pl. xi, top right), when he is seen in priestly garments performing rites of purification before the model bark, now unshipped and transferred to a permanent shrine, if successive events are being narrated.<sup>9</sup>

In the adjoining picture on the South Wall (Pl. XII, top) we may imagine that Mont's brief sojourn [at Ţûd] is over and that he has embarked again under the protection of the vulture-

[See below, p. 27, n. 2, where it is questioned whether this officer was the father of the priest Neferhötep in the top row.]

The cartouche Nebmarrer, i.e. Amenophis III, is clear and is not to be read Menmarrer (Sethos I) as in the title of another

officer, Pl. xv, top left. A note-book gives the signs before the cartouche as Rill-

This priestly satchel, generally divided into three or more pockets (?) and suspended from the girdle by ornamental chains, the number of which seems to correspond in some measure to that of the pockets, was in use from the time of Tuthmosis III down. It has been dealt with by Borchardt (Allerhand Kleinigkeiten, pp. 19 ff.), who regards it as a case for the apparatus of astronomers, as it is almost always associated with the star-bespangled leopard-skin. Alternatively it might hold papyri of spells for recitation. Here it is used only by priests of Mont or of a royal cult when engaged in rites. This does not point to astronomy. As part of the outfit of a priest at or near the Residence, it seems to have been frequently a gift of the king, perhaps on the day of appointment to office. The king's own sporran, which in Petrie, Six Temples, Pl. 10, resembles this when he is acting as priest, may originally have been such an appurtenance and belong to Hermonthis.

4 [This interpretation differs somewhat startlingly from the view which most Egyptologists would hold. For them the priests here named would surely be those of the funerary temples of the kings named which lay along the edge of the western desert at Thebes. However, this entire matter must be reconsidered in the light of Winlock's remark, JEA xv, 65: 'But even so, there remain at least six Chief Prophets of Tuthmosis I under the two kings Seti I and Ramesses II, and Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs,

13, n. 2, suggests that this may be the result of the existence of more than one cult-place.'

The cartouche is now half-destroyed, and evidently was so already in Lepsius's day (Denkmäler, Text, 111, p. 264); to be restored, however, with certainty from Pl. XIII, frieze, and hence to be eliminated from Winlock's list of high-priests of Tuthmosis I, loc. cit. 68.]

6 [Davies wrote 'probably', but see below, p. 27, bottom.]

Ranke, Personennamen, 207, 19 read Nehy, doubtless following the copy made by Sethe; so too Lepsius and Winlock (loc. cit.). There is here, it is true, a tuft high up under the beak, but the crests on the head are wanting, and the absence of | would be abnormal. The repetition of the name, Pl. xv, top, shows that Davies's reading is right; Nay is a not uncommon name, see Ranke, op. cit. 170, 10.]

8 So Lepsius (Text, 111, p. 264). The reading is very doubtful now and rather suggests Tuthmosis II.

Medâmûd, Karnak, Ţûd, and Armant were the neighbouring temples at which the bull of Mont was worshipped. At Medâmûd Tuthmosis III had been active, but Karnak is silent on this point. Ţûd then was the first stopping-place of the barge. The name of Tuthmosis III on the sunshade may or may not have significance. There is only one slight sign of any connexion of his with Ţûd, yet it is one of the very few links there between the Middle Kingdom and Ptolemaic times.

goddess, Nekhbet, being now, perhaps, within her domain. Khons has again placed his uncles (?) in the barge, this time reversing their positions, so that Huy is officiating and the vizier Usermont assisting him. Tuthmosis III and Ramesses II are shown honouring the god on the wall of the naos; the titulary of the latter appears on the tabernacles from which offerings are made on the departure and arrival of the god. The tugs are getting the hawsers made fast and the marines are again giving a display of their training in arms. One seems to have knocked his opponent's staff from his grasp, so that the only defence he can offer is a verbal one, It is Amūn who gives victory. The tugs are not the same as before; judging by the decoration of the captain's box, these are horse-transports of the army or of the king. Two men maintain the continual offering to the god. They are the charioteer of the stable of Usimacrēc-setpenrēc (i.e. Ramesses II), Racia and the charioteer, Iia; [the former is seen again at the funeral of Khons, Pl. xvi]. There being no room for a captain of proper stature on the boat, the designer has placed him on the shore (West Wall). He is the officer² (of the ship?) 'The . . . of Pharaoh', Pshed, born of (?) Maiay.

Here again the arrival of the bark is greeted from the shore by priests and priestesses who dedicate offerings, these placed in tabernacles or, when more modest, in the open. The officiants are the steward of (Queen) Tiy3 in the estate of Amūn, the royal scribe, Userhēt, who casts incense on the pile from a platter (so also on the tug below), and the tomb-owner Khons, here described as overseer of [the cattle of ] Menkheprurëc, ti.e. Tuthmosis IV. Khons is accompanied by his mother [the chantress] of Mont, lord of On, Twosret, by his wife Taiay,5 by her daughter Ruy, and by a small girl. Other piles of food are served by his father (?) the imy-hnt (?) of Menkheperrer, Dhutpai6 and by the priestess of Tjenenet of On, Ru; the goddess Tjenenet was the consort of Mont, who had rooms in the temple of Tûd and probably also at Armant (On); note that priestesses are extremely rare after the Old and Middle Kingdoms and must have played a very minor part in the hierarchy, almost always serving goddesses. To the lady Ru refer the words daughter of the chantress of Mont Mai in front of the first of the four ladies behind her, who accordingly was her mother. The other three are described above as her daughter the priestess Tent . . . . , deceased; her daughter the chantress [of Mont] Nesnub; and her daughter the chantress of Mont Aati. Precedence is given in these legends to the priestess, doubtless because of her high rank, though in point of fact her figure brings up the rear, round the corner on the West Wall. The two priestesses in this group of women have shaven heads and wear a gown of special simplicity. The flower carried by one of the sisters is probably a papyrus umbel seen from above.

If, on the assumption that the scene is continuous in spite of the intervening border, we turn

<sup>1</sup> [It is difficult to see how Davies would have justified this relationship. The question-mark is his.]

[Lepsius, Denkmäler, Text III, p. 263, shows that the cartouche, now damaged, read [N]; so too Davies's Kurnah note-book.]

4 A note-book shows the central 1 of 111111 below \$\frac{1}{3}\$; this title occurs several times below in the tomb, e.g. Pl. XI, bottom, right.

5 Surely the error of someone for Mutiay, the known wife of Khons [see below, pp. 28 f.].

<sup>7</sup> [Davies regarded the first of the four women behind Ru as a daughter of hers like the rest; this seems clearly a mistake, and his comments have been revised accordingly.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> [Substitute the marine; the word wew is the term describing simple soldiers, or those who performed a like function on board ship.]

<sup>6 [</sup>A note-book, confirmed by a photograph, gives as the beginning of this legend, which is quite unintelligible and can hardly be interpreted as is done by Davies; Ranke, Personennamen, 407, 22, quotes the name Dhutpai from this tomb, but this is his sole example.]

The pylons of the temple carry the titulary of Tuthmosis III and the main gateway between them is named *Beautiful is his appearing*. Now though the main temple of Armant is of Ptolemaic date, recent excavations have shown ruins of earlier buildings, the most prominent of which are the entrance pylons of Tuthmosis III, with later texts of Ramesses II. Our picture then is in full accord with the facts. The figure of the hawk protecting the king which is seen against the pylons is presumably on a perch and carried at the tail of the little procession; there are other

cases too where it faces backwards.

Finally we see the bark at rest in a shrine, as in Pl. xI. Khons pours out a libation in front of it: Offering incense and cool water doubly pure for the ka of the royal spirit, Menkheperrër, (the products) of heaven and earth and of that which Ḥarpi brings. They are twice pure for thy ka and thy ka is satisfied with them., viz., bread, beer, cattle, fowl, cloth, incense, ointment, various grain and vegetables, for thy ka, O good god, lord of the Two Lands, Menkheperrër, son of the Sun, Tuthmosis (III) (the products) of sky and earth, and [whatever is given to?]<sup>5</sup> the greater and lesser enneads, and to all the gods of heaven and earth, and to (?) the royalty (?) of Menkheperrër, the absolved spirit; that thou mayest give all food good and pure, good and pleasant, to thy (sic) ka, thy favourite, the high-priest of Menkheperrër, Khons, called To. May he give. . . . <sup>7</sup> Though this dislocated text is on behalf of Tuthmosis III, I take the shrine to be one of Mont, but dedicated by that king. Thus Khons, being in a temple where his patron has claims on the god, takes the opportunity to invoke blessings on the dead king and, by a side wind, to obtain a share for himself. A fragment (Pl. xx) has preserved his feet and a curious detail. The bird-soul of Khons is seen accompanying him when exercising his priestly functions. I know no parallel to this except its repetition on Pl. xiv (bottom,

The text after 'walls' evidently becomes extremely hard to read, and the admirable photographs afford but little help. However, one of Davies's early note-books gives [[]] — [] [] [] followed by an obscure group which, with the slight emendation of the last word into [], yields the sense How fortunate are the walls of the gods who are in Armant.]

5 [For this suggested supplying of the destroyed words Davies had simply water for.]

7 [The note-book gives 4] as the concluding signs. This looks as though there were intended . . . a good burial on (the West of Thebes??) with sudden breaking off of the text after on.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [The text says clearly 'by', but Davies, realizing that the following speech was addressed to Mont on his return to his hometemple at Armant, has not unnaturally emended in into n 'to'. None the less, there is reason to think that the Egyptian scribe meant 'by', see the editorial remarks on these scenes on pp. 17 f., below.]

<sup>2</sup> [Better 'is she', namely, On.]

<sup>\* [</sup>The note-book vaguely suggests after and gives at the bottom of the line, yielding . . . all that happens (?) against the Osiris To as steward . . . , but one may well doubt whether this is correct. Still more obscure are the last two columns, where the note-book has nothing except the final = justified. Doubtless the name of the second priest was here given.]

<sup>6 [</sup>If 15] is a mistake for or a misreading of 17 one might render: O Menkheperrer, behold (here are) all things good and pure, all things good and sweet for thy ka, that thou mayst favour the high-priest, &c.]

left). Apparently the artist was struck by the idea of the soul as a migratory bird, ever thirsty and drinking water where it could be found, but, as a priest's soul, preferring holy water. The fragment also shows that the same floral band as on the opposite wall interposes between the upper and lower scenes; it serves to show the complete detachment of the two rows, but was an aesthetic blunder.

Davies's commentary on the principal scenes of Pls. xI-xIII has been reproduced pretty well as he left it, with a few verbal alterations or expansions, the excision of one or two footnotes, and one major transposition. It does not follow, however, that he would have printed it without further change, and it seems desirable to insert here a few editorial observations that may help to remove certain discrepancies and to clarify the situation in other respects. It is impossible to doubt, and indeed Davies recognized clearly, that the entire series of pictures narrated a consecutive series of important religious events in which Khons at least once, and perhaps even annually, played an important part. Davies noted the fact that, though the tomb was decorated by Khons and possibly used only for his own interment, he took the opportunity of commemorating his entire family. The presence of persons belonging to various generations, and among them two important personages who may have been dead for fifty years or more, is striking testimony to the highly conceptual, not merely visual, character of Egyptian pictorial representation. Any relative or ancestor of Khons whom he could suppose to have participated at any time in this long-established festal occurrence seemed a fitting person to be included in his pictures alongside of himself. It would appear that the occasion was a visit of the Mont of Hermonthis (Armant) to the Mont of Tûd, two deities whose identity or duality was a very wavering tenet with their worshippers. This interpretation seems explicitly demanded by the words spoken at the moment when the returning god was being carried on the shoulders of his priests into the temple built for him by Tuthmosis III at Armant (Pl. XIII): How welcome art thou, it is said, being come from Tûd and being at rest in On. Davies was puzzled by these words being stated to be spoken by Mont, lord of On, and he accordingly emended by into to. But is not the position as follows: the god has been met at the water's brink by his high-priest' Rarmose, who on reaching the temple pylon turns round and welcomes the home-comer, thereby acting as spokesman for his lord? This assumes that the high-priest Rarmose is depicted twice in that same single picture,2 and also that when once the deity left the precincts of his own dwelling he became, as it were, a distinct deity, so that the traveller Mont could be bidden welcome by the stay-at-home Mont without any sense of incongruity. But there is also the possibility that the principal deity of Armant was a Mont whose statue had actually remained at home in the care of his high-priest Racmose, whereas the peripatetic Mont was the Mont of a special temple at Armant built by Tuthmosis III. If so, then the two gods will in actual fact have had a separate material existence. This raises the question as to the meaning of the title high-priest of Menkheperrer given to Khons. Perhaps he was not, as one might be inclined to suppose a priori, the high-priest of the funerary temple of Tuthmosis III at the fringe of the western desert of Thebes; perhaps, on the contrary, he was merely the head of the priesthood of that monarch's

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> [Khons himself being the high-priest at Tûd, it seems almost certain that Racmose belonged to Armant (On).]
<sup>2</sup> [Alternatively the priest who serves as the mouthpiece of the welcoming god might be Khons himself. In favour of this

foundation at Armant. In that case, he may have stood towards the high-priest Rarmose in something of the same relation that, say, the chief priest of the Ramesseum occupied towards the high-priest of Amūn at Karnak. Davies's commentary on Pl. xv below seems to envisage as the seat of Khons's office the temple of Tuthmosis III at Karnak (p. 20); so here we have a third alternative to consider. It must be admitted, however, that the above suggestions are mere speculations unsupported by tangible evidence; their main purpose has been to show how far we still are from a full understanding of such scenes as are our theme in this tomb.

It was doubtless not without good reason that in Pl. XI Khons, offering incense to the bark of Mont now reposing safely in his shrine after the outward journey, was accorded his title of high-priest of Mont, lord of Djorty. Khons will have held priesthoods both at Armant and at Djorty (Tûd), and here his designation has been chosen to harmonize with the fact that the act depicted took place at Tûd. There seems but little ground for Davies's tentative surmise that the Mont of Armant, after a brief stay at Tûd, proceeded farther south to El-Kâb. The presence of the vulture-goddess overhead seems a mere traditional reminiscence of the Old Kingdom reliefs where the king, starting on a campaign, is accompanied either by the falcon-god Horus of Behdet or else by the vulture-goddess of El-Kâb; see now JEA xxx, 52.]

We must now return to the pictures lying below this series, though but little is left of them. Those on the East Wall, South Side (Pl. XI) are separated from the scene above by the deep floral band just mentioned, but this is omitted on the South Wall and does not occur in the North Bay. What is preserved on the East Wall shows the owner or his relations being ministered to in couples. One (or two) such groups are lost to the left of Pl. XI. The first to be presented depicts the priest Khons and his mother (?) having food consecrated to them by a lector, Phasye.1 Four women lend their support. The occasion seems to be that of lighting a lamp for the dead, for three candles and two pyramidal tapers are shown, all bound round with red ties (?) to hold them together as they burn.2 Immediately to the right of this is a scene where Khons, who is called To, sits at meat, this time as overseer of the cattle of Menkheprurër (i.e. Tuthmosis IV) and along with his grandmother (?),3 May, his mother Twosret, and her daughter the chantress of Mont, Wiay. The name of the officiating son is lost; May is styled the greatly praised of Hathor, lady of On.

On the South Wall (Pl. XII) the lower register is broken away to the left, so that we have only the end of a large pool, almost filled by a square island on which ceremonies probably connected with the statue or mummy are being performed. This recalls an unpublished picture in Tomb 222 where rites are being paid to the mummy, in the presence of Isis, on an island having flowers growing on its sloping banks; water surrounds the island and on it the bark of the dead is floating. To the right of the pool in the tomb of Khons are representations of the meal of the dead. In the upper row a son of Khons, the high-priest of Sobk Usermont, sits with

I A good photograph confirms all the readings shown in the Plate. Unless | is a mistake for | and | for , Davies's 'lector Phasye' cannot be justified; could pr hsy be a vocative thou blessed one? The preceding words describing the scene depicted (Making censing and libation to the Osiris, the high-priest of Menkheperrer, Khons) are exactly paralleled by those accompanying the somewhat similar act shown at the right end of the same register, and point to the figure to left of the lighted tapers being Khons; as in the upper register he is here high-priest of Mont, of Tud presumably.] <sup>2</sup> See Davies in JEA x, 9 ft.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> [For 'grandmother (?)' surely 'wife' should be substituted; see below on the family of Khons, p. 28, bottom.] 4 [See now JEA xxxII, 69 f.]

his mother Ruia and his sister Tjesy, daughter of Ruia. The lower scene, with a man (?) and three women as recipients, is almost lost.

West Wall, North Side. This wall (Pl. xiv) is devoted to the worship of Osiris, the erstwhile king of Egypt taking the place of his successor of the moment. Here the kiosk in which the god is enthroned makes a brave splash of colour with its heavy entablature, its gaudy columns of a composite sort such as no architect ever condescended to employ in stone, and the screening curtain drooping festoon-like from the top of the columns. The god's throne, too, is of the ornate false-door type and his collar and pectoral nearly cover his body. The latter is purely decorative; an amulet which depicts his own worship can have no protective value. The swag behind the head of Anubis is again only an excuse for colour in an over-coloured panel. The epithets of the god are time-worn and distinguished only by faults in grammar. The offerings in front of the god are piled up on the four high stands in an impossible way. The little soul-bird of Khons is again seen catching what drips from the table of the god. The text appended may be: The soul of the Osiris, the [priest of Mont?], born of (?) Twosret, drinking water from out of the water-jar (?).

The officiant, presumably Khons, is using an cankh-shaped vase with a hawk's head on an inverted lotus as a cover, and a bird's head and neck as a spout. The skin he wears shows the titulary of Tuthmosis III, his patron. His unnamed companions are probably his mother, his son Usermont, and his wife Mutiay, judging by Pl. x, below, of which this may be a replica. Mutiay's two children are adult, though so small; the one is named Kharemwēset, second priest of Tuthmosis III, and the other Wiy, chantress of Amūn. For the artist, as for his colleague of our day, colour and fantasy are everything and reality only a twisted basis for these. He buries the ladies' sistrums in foliage and makes their menyets unwearable by adding the projecting head of a goddess, who, as we learn from that of the girl, is Mūt. The son has legs twice the human length and an overlap to his skirt in which the artist has seen an attractive resemblance to a leaf.<sup>2</sup> What texts there were have nearly faded out; indeed, it is doubtful if there was material for filling any but the first panel of columns.

NORTH WALL (Pl. xv). Khons, being mortuary priest of Tuthmosis III, depicts in the upper part of this wall the public parade of the king, as he had done already for Mont. On the right we see the archaic boat containing the naos of the long-dead king to whom Khons consecrates an offering. The vessel is afloat on a T-shaped pool, ending in a walled quay, and is being towed by a war-ship which displays on the hull the emblems of both the falcon-headed Mont and the ram-headed Amūn. The design on its standard may yield the name Useramūn or possibly, by a rebus, that of Ramesses II. The officer in charge of the tug is the *standard-bearer* of the great regiment of Menmacrēc (i.e. Sethos I) Usermont; he makes a burnt offering towards the deified king. The graining of the sides would show that the boat was plank-built, and with foolish unreality the connecting rope lies slackly in the hands of the captain and is made fast, if at all, to the head of the steering-oar.

The reading Tjesy is very doubtful. At one moment Davies tried to read Will Wiay as in Pl. xv, bottom right; but this seems hardly possible.]

These and all other skirts have the usual folds put in in white on a yellowish ground.

The pylon of the temple which is the goal of the voyage has its summit inscribed with the name of Tuthmosis III and a panel in its gate shows the king adoring Amun. It may be thought of, then, as the Sixth Pylon of Karnak. If so, this is the head of the waterway joining the temple

with the Nile, at high-water at any rate.2

As in the progress of Mont, the king's statue is welcomed by eight mortuary priests whose names indicate how thoroughly the family of Khons had pushed its way into this branch of the hierarchy. Each of these men brings an offering the size of which is proportionate to his priority of place. Two lectors of the cult of Tuthmosis III, Khary and Kharemweset, precede. The rest are:

The high-priest of Amenophis II, Neferhötep (the father of Khons).

His two sons, high-priests of Tuthmosis I, Nay and Iuy; cf. Pl. XI, top, and see p. 14, n. 7 ad fin.

His son, the lector of king [Amenophis II (?)], Ment[hotpe].3

[His son] .... of Amenophis II, To.4 His son, high-priest of Sobk, Usermont.

In the same way a group of women, chantresses of Mont, act as mourners for the dead king and are met by five others, representing the temple of Amun, to which he comes, and sent out to mourn with those that mourn. A little edifice inscribed for the king indicates the hospitality prepared for him.5 On the other side of this the women raise hands and sistrums in welcome. The approaching group includes ... iay; .... nofret (?), the daughter of Maany; [then perhaps Mut[iay], and after a gap] Taysen; Maia; Urnero; Hentnofret. The five meeting them are perhaps daughters of Twosret rather than of Mutiay; they include Maia, Wosri, and Maany, daughter of Tentiunet. Mutiay may have precedence here over Twosret as being a chantress of Amūn, in whose temple they are; she is stated to be (leader) of those who bewail. Behind her Twosret and her daughter Tentiunet, both of them chantresses of Mont, make offering.

The lower part of the wall is devoted to a very different scene, in which Khons's lesser' role of overseer of the cattle of Tuthmosis IV is concerned, and here, as if in this capacity familiarity might be used, he is called merely To.8 Accompanied by his wife Ruia, his son, werb-priest and lector of Mont, Usermont,° and his daughter, Wiay, he sits in an arbour with a flat roof which, if one took the picture seriously, might be of reeds smeared with mud (blue on green). A standard is fixed in the ground inside, as also outside under the trees. It appears to be the name of the estate from which the cult of the king was financed. It contains the cartouche of Tuthmosis IV

<sup>1</sup> [Some doubt is thrown on this in the editorial comments, above, p. 18.]

3 The names of both king and priest are doubtful here; so, too, was that of the king in Pl. XI.

4 [Perhaps Khons himself, though not elsewhere named as a priest of Amenophis II; at all events Usermont following was a son of Khons.

7 [Perhaps substitute 'earlier', see below, p. 27.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> This pool is not that shown in Davies, Tomb of Nefer-botep, Pl. XLII, since that had had to make way for the Ramesside hypostyle hall. But this quay may be the extant one at the end of the dromos of sphinxes of Ramesses II. No such waterway seems to have led to either temple of the king on the west bank at this date.

The text on the left has been altered by the insertion of chantress (?) and lord of the two lands in the . . .; perhaps to rectify epithets of the king, possibly to substitute an opening of the description of Mutiay. 6 [According to Wb. 1, 117, 15 ff.; 118, 2 ff. iby can signify either a cry of joy or a cry of grief.]

<sup>8</sup> Proof that this is an alternative name has been found in Pl. XI and elsewhere. Khons may have received this soubriquet owing to his reverence for his grandfather Tjoy, of which name To is an abbreviation (Sethe in ZAS XLIV, 92). [Against this 9 An error; Usermont the son was chief priest of Sobk. [But see below, p. 28, n. 3.] view see p. 27, near top.

framed in a corner and greeted by the goddess Māret.' To is addressing the herdsmen who bring the cattle and their young for his inspection. He says: May Mont show you favour. The animals of the god are thriving. Bring this calf to the temple. It is not at all easy to find the calf in question, but it can be seen at the far end of the lower row, doubled up in a net and looking more like a monkey than a calf. The pleasant escape of the chief priest from the gloom of a temple into the open fields is suggested by the branching trees which open and close the level vista. In the upper row the peasant in charge, the rural foreman, Kaka, prostrates himself before his employer. The animals in his charge are lanky and scrawny to caricature and there are not many calves running, but since Mont, To, and the artist were pleased with them, we ought not to be critical. The men carry the abnormal amount of water which the fellah absorbs in place of food, and nets to bring back weaklings or fodder. The second foreman, Nefersekhru, is as obsequious as his fellow. He has fewer kine to look after, but with three helpers and a dog has an easy task, though a flock of goats is added. Several of the latter have those twin caruncles which the fellah considers the sign of a good breed.

East Wall, North Side (Pl. xvi). The upper part is reserved for a very terse and bare depiction of the divine judgement hall. Twelve deities form a council with Rer at their head and the deceased and his mother (?) at the rear. The last may count it a good sign that they are given something to eat while they wait. Finally, having stood the test of the balance, they are led by Horus, son of Isis, to his father Osiris with the pronouncement: The Osiris Khons, high-priest of Menkheperrer, has come to ones for whom (?) righteousness is upon his mouth and righteousness upon his hands. He never wrought wickedness (against) the great ones in this land, and transgression has not been found in him. He did what the king desired and that with which the gods are pleased (emend htt). His heart has come forth justified (mschtw); he has not been accused (sthot?); he has not been found sinful; the great Ennead (?) of the gods in the halls of Truth rejoice greatly over a just man proving just (?). There follow some brief notes: His mother the chantress of Mont, Twosret. The guardian of the balance, Anubis, (says?), 'Thy qualities are satisfactory'. The high-priest of Sobk, Usermont, son of Khons, (says), 'Thou comest with acquittal (?) . . . .' This trial of the dead is attended, curiously enough, by the family, and it is his mother, not his wife, whom Khons selects to share his absolution.

The lower scene supplies the actual burial with the usual adjuncts—the porticoed tomb with pyramidal superstructure, the stela inscribed with a prayer for recitation by well-wishers, the two coffins, the mourning wife Mutiay and daughter W[ia]y(?), the lector Khary, who pronounces the usual formula of purification, the lector Kharemweset who makes the magical passes, the chest of his instruments, the priestly son Usermont who reads the spell for opening the mouth of the Osiris, the high-priest To, but who begins Ho, Osiris, priest Khons, and six mourning women who weep. The spells read aloud are the traditional ones. On the extreme right is the bier, headed by a procession. A man purifies the path of the priest To with milk, saying four times

The name, framed as in a palace window and facing Māret, may, by a rebus, give the name of his mortuary temple as Shespet-Māret. That of Amenophis II had been Shespet-rönekh.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> [They appear to be Atum, Shu and Tphēnis, Mont and Tjenenet, next two doubtful, then Osiris, Haroēris, Isis, Nephthys, and another dubious goddess.]

The Editor has ventured to modify Davies's rendering of this very faulty passage at several points.]

4 Davies gave as rendering spoken evil, but perhaps ARAL should be emended.

Doubly pure!. The cow lacks the rope, and her calf, the foreleg of which, following a barbarous custom, has been severed, limps along with bleeding stump. Six men representatives of holy cities (?) draw the bier, perhaps aided by an attached team in the lowest register. Lamenting men are identified as (1, 2) werb-priests and lectors of the temple of Mont, Nebamūn and Usermont, both of them sons of Tentiunet; (3) their father . . . . Racia, with the same office; (4) the werb-priest of Mont Pshed, son of Maany. Two women follow; they are wrongly called the charioteer Racia and the high-priest of Sobk, Usermont respectively.

THE SECOND DOORWAY<sup>3</sup> leading to the Passage has lost its incised jambs, but has retained the lintel (Pl. XIX, top). The scene is formal, the family making offering, with naïve self-interest, to Osiris and Isis on the right and to Rēc-Harakhti and Anubis on the left. In the latter case the text reads: Offering all good and pure food to thy ka, O living god, for the ka of the high-priest of Menkheperrēc, Khons. Behind him is the house-mistress, the chantress of Amūn, Maia, with a small daughter; after them comes his (?) son, the second priest of Menkheperrēc, Khacemwēset. On the opposite side the legend reads: Giving<sup>4</sup> praise to thy ka, Osiris Onnophris, prince (of eternity) for the ka, &c., as before. As name of the woman was perhaps originally written [or begun] His mother Twosret, to be followed by overseer of the horses of the lord of the two lands, Usermont; there has been some unintelligible alteration, and in the first of the three short columns we can discern His son, the head of the stable, as in Pl. x.

The South Reveal of this doorway retains only the feet of a priest followed by those of a woman and of a man, facing outwards. [However,] some specially interesting fragments (Pl. xxi, top left) seem connected and must belong here. On one we have the titles of a vizier ..... high-priest of Mācet and mayor ..... adjoining a baton (?) on which, strangely enough, the opening words of a ritual prayer are written. With this must go the bald head of a large figure and still more certainly the upper hem of a vizier's robe, with the characteristic suspending cord and ribbon and a hand grasping a handle. This must be the personage of whom the family were so proud, the vizier Usermont, already met with in Pl. xI (see p. 13). [Davies hesitated much about the fragments of inscription now shown behind the here-mentioned figure of the vizier, thinking at one moment that they might have come from the South Wall of the Passage. One can still read some titles that do not occur elsewhere in the tomb, viz..... father of the god, beloved of the god, over the secrets of ...., and below this, .... [of] the lord of the two lands, in the heart of [his lord] . . . . in On, werb-priest . . . . .]

The North Reveal has under the Anubis frieze the remains of some short columns of hiero-glyphs referring to the figures of Khons, a son of his and a woman carrying a bouquet (Pl. XXI, top right). We can still read . . . His son, [the high-priest of] Sobk, Usermont. His mother, the greatly praised of the lord of eternity, the chantress of Mont, [Ruia].<sup>5</sup>

THE PASSAGE. Just inside the doorway on the south was a harper, who is to be reckoned to the scene on the South Wall. There the whole of the upper part has been removed save for

<sup>1</sup> See above Pl. v and for further references p. 9, n. 5.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> [So Davies, who made a slight slip, here corrected, in respect of the names. But surely it is men who are depicted, differing only from those in front of them in that the latter are priests and therefore have shorn heads.]

<sup>3 [</sup>From this point onwards only rough notes have been available.]

<sup>4</sup> For - emend and for id ... possibly ida.

<sup>5</sup> The restorations are from Pl. XII, bottom, cf. also Pl. XV, bottom right.

scraps of the frieze, and not much is left of the lower. The scene was very formal. Three men were shown seated on lightly built chairs with stands of food in front, and to them ministered two standing men, the first of them a priest. All the men wore sandals. Some fragments of inscription have been fitted into their probable places in Pl. xVII, below. From these it would appear that the first seated man was the tomb-owner himself: . . . to thy ka, [thou overseer of cattle of] Menkheprurër, [Khons], deceased, high-priest of Mont, lord of [Djorty?], . . . . . . Among the words of the officiant all that can be recovered is . . . to thy ka, thou greatly praised of Amūn (and of) Mont lord of . . . . . .

On the North Wall only tiny scraps at top and bottom exist, and the latter is broken by a complete gap not far from the entrance. Farther along a woman's foot is seen upon a mat (Pl. xvII, top). After another gap there may be the traces of the base of a naos, the top of which is preserved under the frieze. Outside this naos there was depicted a tree and then a man (?) with his back to it. [The true explanation of this scene, subsequently lost sight of by Davies, is vouchsafed by some inscriptions preserved in a note-book that was kept in Kurnah.¹ On the lintel of the naos ran the inscription: [The Horus, Strong Bull], Khacemwēset, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperrēc; he made (it) for his father Mont, given life like Rēc. This shows that the naos represents the temple of Mont, where Khons was the high-priest. Adjacent in the note-book are the topmost signs of some vertical columns, which must have been visible above the man in front of the tree and the naos and make it clear that he was the high-priest himself in the act of receiving a bouquet:

Receiving a bouquet . . . . . . . . . (who) loves to give . . . . . . . a good old age to the Osiris, the high-priest [of Mont, Khons, justified]. Of the columns to the left there are left only the initial word By and the sign for Thoth (Dhut-...), possibly the beginning of a personal name.]<sup>3</sup>

THE THIRD DOORWAY projects slightly and is corniced. The lintel and jambs once carried incised polychrome texts starting from the centre and running along and down in opposite directions; [only enough remains\* to show that on the left the ritual formula was addressed to (1) Harakhti and (2) Amūn, and on the right to (1) Osiris and (2) Anubis lord of the Sacred Land, lord of eternity, beneficent god of the Ennead . . . and (2) Anubis lord of Rostaw, upon . . . . . ]. Each narrow space outside the jambs was decorated with a brightly coloured bouquet in paint.

Both Reveals beyond this have lost everything, except that at each inner end sits a lady facing outwards with one or more small figures beside her. Even thus much is very broken.

I [On p. 52 of a notebook labelled Précis of Theban Tombs, 3.]

<sup>2</sup> [The last signs are marked with a query, and were evidently thought uncertain.]

4 [Précis, loc. cit.]

The only other personal name in the tomb beginning thus is the problematical Dhutpay, see above, p. 15, n. 6.]

THE ANTECHAMBER, as described above, p. 11, was small and rough, and covered with yellow-washed plaster. It is of interest only as leading to the Shrine.

THE SHRINE, front view of which is shown in the photograph Pl. XLI, top. The framing of the door was only roughly built up in painted mud. The jambs are lost, but on the lintel worship of the dog Anubis by Khons and a lady is depicted on each side of a central column of lost text. A broad border of polychrome chequer runs around the framing, but above the lintel this is forced

on to the ceiling.

Inside the Shrine the paintings have one surprising feature. There is nothing worthy of much remark on the Back Wall (Pl. xvIII, left), where Osiris, his body tenderly supported by Anubis, as though the latter scarcely trusted his own work of reconstruction, is purified by incense and water at the hand of Khons; the scene is distinguished from hundreds of similar designs only by its coarse and bold execution and by the gaudy brilliance of the colouring, for which scope was offered by the leopard-skin, sash, sporran, and libation vase of Khons; a twist of lotus-flowers obligingly floating out into a vacant space of the design is characteristic of this baroque period. But on the South Wall (Pl. xvIII, right) the divinity to whom Khons, surnamed To, makes an offering of lotus and papyrus is no other than King Nebhepetrēr-Menthotpe of the Eleventh Dynasty. The reason for the appearance of that king was not the family interest in mortuary cults, nor yet in the first instance any reverence for the great Theban rulers of bygone ages; the reason was rather that the temple of this particular monarch lay under the western cliff and contained the chapel of the cow-goddess Hathor.2 Thus he stands for the West-just as she so often does, and the present representation forms a pendant to the picture, too rough and too much damaged to have been thought worth reproducing, of Khons worshipping the goddess of the West, the scene that occupied the North Wall.

### 3. THE FRIEZES

In the South Reveal of the Entrance (Pl. x) and on three sides of the Hall (Pls. xI, xVI) the frieze above the pictures shows the common Ramesside type of a couchant Anubis alternating with two *kbeker* ornaments. This pattern is repeated on both sides of the Passage (Pl. xVII). The group diminishes in size as the available height contracts. On the West Side of the Hall the frieze consists of two *ded*-symbols in polychrome alternating with two columns of text (black on yellow) giving the titles of the tomb-owner or of relatives of his, the whole contained between two horizontal block borders; the black hieroglyphs are only occasionally preserved. South of the doorway there are ten such panels of text, but only the four shown in Pl. xIII provide anything of interest. On the North Side there are five panels, but only the name of Khons (twice) and *high-priest* on a third panel can be read; on this side the space tapered away, and half the length is occupied, as often in such cases, by the rippling coils of a serpent, here with an offering before it making it into a divinity.

I [The accompanying text starts with the words: Take to thyself, it being placed (at) thy nose, [this bouquet of ] Amen-Rec, lord of beaven. . . .]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> So in Tomb 277, where King Menthotpe and his black wife Neferys are displayed over the passage descending to the burial vault, along with a picture of the mummy being carried down for interment; behind the two royal statues is the Cow emerging from the mountain. There is no other reason for the appearance of Menthotpe here. For this picture see Foucart, in Bull. Inst. Ég., v, sér. XI, 261 ff., with Pl. 1, and better in Hermann's article Mitt. des deutschen Inst. . . . . in Kairo, VI, Pl. 6, c.

### THE FRIEZES

Such frieze inscriptions as those afore-mentioned mostly confine themselves to the titles and name of the tomb-owner and his wife. Here the mention of several different personages gives our tomb the character of a family tomb. Starting from the right the four panels contain the following legends: I, The Os[iris the high-priest of] Menkheperrēc Khons, born of the chantress of Mont Twosret; II, The Osiris the high-priest of Menkheperrēc Tjoy; the house-mistress the chantress of Amūn Maiay; III, The Osiris the high-priest of Akheprurēc Neferhōtep; his wife the chantress of Mont Twosret; IV, His son the high-priest of Akheperkarēc Iuy; his mother the chantress of Mont Twosret. For the identity and relationships of these people see the special section below, pp. 26 ff.

### 4. THE CEILINGS

Treatment of this subject is apt to be very dull when coloured plates cannot be provided, but this tomb affords an exception, since the soffit of the Entrance and that of the Third Doorway are decorated with flying birds instead of the usual geometrical patterns. The outer panel (Pl. xx, centre) is less attractive, but more reasonable, since the pigeons (?) that fill it in strictly ordered array might be supposed to be hovering in a yellow sky overhead. The birds are light blue with white underparts and red legs against a yellow ground; possibly there were butterflies in the interspaces left by the twelve birds. The panel is surrounded by a chequered border of blue, red, blue, green, blue, red, and blue squares. The birds meet one as one enters, as indeed they would if one entered a tomb inhabited by natives nowadays.

The inner soffit (Pl. xIX, bottom) is more pleasing, if less appropriate to the situation. Here the birds are ducks, flying irregularly over nests built in clumps of poppies, mandrakes, and cornflowers. Grasshoppers are to be seen here and there. It is as though the birds were alarmed by an intruder. The border is plain. It makes a bright picture, painted sketchily on a rough white

surface, but is, of course, visible only when one is directly beneath the low ceiling.

In the Hall the usual yellow bands (void of text) form two panels in each bay. The panels are filled with common patterns, the one a chequer of quatrefoils on yellow alternating with black ones on red, the other (to the east) formed by blue lentoids on red. The axial space had something different, possibly birds. The soffit of the Second Doorway is adorned with bunches of

grapes and vine-leaves in alternate squares.

The ceiling of the Passage is slightly cambered. Three bands with black texts on yellow divided it into two panels. The texts at the sides are shown in Pl. xx. That starting from the middle of the east end and proceeding to the left of a visitor facing the Entrance, then down, and ending in the middle of the west end, reads as follows: A ritual offering to Osiris-Khentamentet, the great god, lord of To-djoser, (to) Ptaḥ-Sokar within the secret shrine, (to) Res-wedja² in front of Rostaw, (to) Anubis (in front of) the god's booth, (to) Nefertēm (and to) Horus-Ḥeknu, the great god upon his ..., that they may grant a sight of all the secrets of the underworld, entrance and exit in the necropolis, and that his soul be not turned back at any of the gates of the underworld, for the ka of him greatly praised of the gods lords of eternity, the high-priest of Menkheperrēc Khons, justified, possessor of favour, happily at peace. The counterpart of this text running in the opposite direction reads: A ritual offering to Amen-Rēc, king of the gods, the great god, maker of all that is, that he may grant me to see him in the

For the soffit of a doorway with a somewhat similar design see Davies, Tomb of Nefer-hotep, Pl. LVI and the references op. cit., p. 16, n. 30. The example from Tomb 159 is shown in colour, Nina M. Davies, Ancient Egyptian Paintings, Pl. CI.

reproduced on this page (Fig. 4), was found in the note-book kept at Kurnah, but is absent from the other note-book from which these ceiling texts have been drawn out by Mrs. Davies; it must be the legend of the central band dividing, as above stated, the ceiling of the Passage into two panels; the words read: A ritual offering to Ḥarakhti, the great god who lives on truth, that he may grant me to see him at the top of the morning, his rays turned upon my breast, that he may illuminate for me in the path of darkness, that he may cause (my) corpse to flourish in the necropolis, . . . . . . (illegible?) for the ka of the high-priest of Mont, lord of Djorty (Ṭûd), To.]

The ceiling of the Shrine (Pl. XLI) has a blank axial yellow band and, on either side, a chequer pattern of quatrefoils, alternately black on yellow with red centre and four spots, and red on white with black centre and spots.

### 5. KHONS, HIS FAMILY AND ASSOCIATES

[An attempt to establish the genealogy of Khons may be found in A. Weil's book<sup>2</sup> on the vizier of Egypt, his authority for the names being the copies of the tomb inscriptions made by Sethe for the purposes of the Berlin Dictionary. Davies's papers comprise a number of similar attempts, but these being undated, it is hard to determine his ultimate conclusions. In such circumstances the only practical course seemed to be to investigate this and the cognate problems with some degree of independence, though, of course, every effort has been made to check the results here reached with those that had at one time or another commended themselves to Davies himself. Apart from the vizier Usermont (see above, p. 13), none of the men and women mentioned in Tomb No. 31 appears to be known from any other source. That this vizier, who may have held office under Tutcankhamūn, was connected with the family of Khons is probable from his mention in the tomb, from the recurrence of his name as that of several persons belonging to the family, and from the name of his mother Maia, borne also by one of the wives of Khons.

Khons himself, the owner of the tomb, was usually designated by that name, in fact in all our Plates except XIV, where his figure is unaccompanied by any legend, and XVII, XXI, where we have but the merest fragments. To this name is thrice appended called To, where is of course for (Pls. XI, bottom; XIII, upper half, in text; XVIII), and sometimes the alternative name To stands alone (Pls. XI, bottom, further to the right; XV, below; XVI, below, on the ritual papyrus and again further to the right; ceiling inscription, above, Fig. 4). There are strong reasons for thinking that the Tjoy mentioned in a panel of the frieze in Pl. XIII (see above, p. 25) was yet another alternative name; for not only does its bearer receive the title high-priest of

<sup>2</sup> [Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches, p. 103.]

FIG. 4.

手

<sup>[</sup>On Pl. xx the signs ] ] have been omitted by mistake from between and the cartouche.]

### KHONS, HIS FAMILY AND ASSOCIATES

Menkheperrēc, the commonest of those attributed to Khons, and not only is he accompanied by a woman bearing the name and title of one of Khons's wives (for Maiay, see below), but also in Tomb 23 a man called Tjoy is frequently described as called To, and Sethe (ZÄS xLIV, 92) has rightly recognized in the alternation Tjoy—To one of those stereotyped pairs of name and nickname (cf. Robert and Bob in English) to which he was the first to draw attention. Only once in Davies's manuscript notes does he appear to have had an inkling of this explanation; for him Tjoy was possibly the father of Khons's father Neferhōtep, an hypothesis which has nothing to recommend it.

The principal office of Khons was that of III man (om bigh-priest of Menkheperrer (i.e. Tuthmosis III), see Pls. x, twice; xv, top; xvI, both top and bottom; xvIII; xIX; xx, ceiling inscription. In this capacity he appears to have been exhibited Pl. xVII, at top (see p. 23), but much more clearly is he seen functioning thus in the top register of Pl. xv, where the statue of the dead king is towed by boat to the pylon of his temple, whether it was at Karnak, at Armant, or the west bank at Thebes; on the difficulty of deciding this issue see above, pp. 17f.; 20, n. 1. Welcoming the royal barge in the same scene are six priests, of whom the last but one is named To and bears the title [ [high-priest of ] Akheprurër, i.e. Amenophis II; and since he is preceded by the father and three brothers of Khons, just as in Pl. XI, and is followed by a priest whom we know to have been a son of Khons, in all probability his eldest, it seems impossible to doubt that it is Khons, called To, who is here depicted. However, nowhere else is he given this title, which had been that of his father Neferhötep; whether we have here a scribal mistake, or whether Khons did actually inherit that office from his father, lack of evidence prevents us from knowing. A third priestly dignity of Khons was that of The bigh-priest of Mont, lord of Djorty, and in Pl. x1 he is seen officiating before this his god at Djorty (Tûd) itself; the title occurred possibly also in Pl. xvII, South Wall, and certainly in the text, p. 26, Fig. 4. It was perhaps at of Menkheprurer (i.e. Tuthmosis IV), since the scene representing him in this capacity (Pl. xv, below) shows him seated with his wife Ruia ( ), who was not the wife depicted with him at his funeral (Pl. xvi). Many temples possessed their own herds of cattle, and each temple staff, as here that of the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis IV at Thebes, had to include an official especially charged with their management; the same occupation of Khons is named also Pl. XI, bottom, and probably Pl. xvII, South Wall. Lastly, there is no reason to think that the appellation The many file of greatly favoured of the gods lords of eternity (Pl. xx, ceiling text) was anything other than a decorative epithet.

Apart from the vizier Usermont and his brother Ḥuy, together with their mother Maia (see above), the most senior members of the family known to us are the father of Khons Neferhōtep, and his mother Twosret.<sup>2</sup> The father, whom we have stated to have been the high-priest of Amenophis II (besides Pl. xv, top, see Pls. xI, upper register; XIII, frieze; in the last-mentioned place his name is coupled with that of Twosret, who is explicitly said to be his wife). The mother Twosret, to whom Khons seems to have been much more devoted than to either of his wives (see Pls. x, bottom; xI, top right; also at bottom; XII, top right; XIV, bottom; xV, middle

<sup>1</sup> [For another possibility with regard to the father of Neferhötep, see the next note.]

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> [There is perhaps a doubt whether in the words his father applied to the officer Nebemhēyet in the tug, Pl. x1, his may not refer to Neferhötep in the top row; see above, p. 14, n. 1.]

row, left; xvI, top) was a frame chantress of Mont, lord of On (Pl. XI, bottom; XII, top right), and it was perhaps through her that Khons obtained his connexion with Armant and its god.

Three sons of Neferhötep, who were consequently brothers of Khons, are depicted Pl. xi, top row, and again Pl. xv, at top; seeing that they occur in the same order in both places, with Khons (To) as their fourth, perhaps that was their sequence of birth; they are Nay and Nay and Inv, each of them a high-priest of Akheperkarēc (i.e. Tuthmosis I, see p. 14, n. 4), and Menthotpe, a high-priest of Akheperkarēc (i.e. Amenophis II; the cartouche is a little doubtful, but its probability is enhanced by the fact that the father served the same cult). A daughter of Twosret, and consequently a sister of Khons, is shown with her mother at the festivities connected with Tuthmosis III, Pl. xv, middle row, left; this was the chantress of Mont Tentiunet Main, three of whose daughters, Maia, Maia, Main, Main, Mebamūn and Maany, are seen attending the same festivities, while two of her sons Nebamūn and Maany, are with their father Raria, also a wēcb-priest and lectors of the house of Mont were present with their father Raria, also a wēcb-priest and lector, at the funeral of Khons (Pl. xvi, at bottom). A son of the lady Maany, Pshed by name, was a wēcb-priest of Mont (Pl. xvi, bottom); a daughter of the same lady was named Pl. xv, middle register.

We have seen that a wife of Khons named Ruia, perhaps his first, is depicted with him whilst he is exercising his functions as superintendent of cattle, Pl. xv, below. Here she is accompanied by a son The Usermont, who was a A merb-priest and lector of Mont,3 and by a daughter Wiay, a chantress of the same god. It is obviously the same son, but advanced to the rank of Migh-priest of Sobk, who is shown Pl. XII, at bottom, receiving offerings together with his mother and a sister whose name is rather doubtful; see too Pl. xxI, top right. This same son, with the same high title, is presented to us not only at the feast of Tuthmosis III (Pl. xv, top left), but also reading the ritual of Opening the Mouth at the funeral of his father (Pl. xvi, bottom) and at the last judgement before Osiris (ibid., top right). These facts place it beyond a doubt that he was the eldest son of Khons, and as such he was probably seen in the picture of the worship of Osiris, Pl. xIV (so, too, Davies, above, p. 19). To what town the cult of his god Sobk belonged we are not told, but one thinks naturally of Imiotru, perhaps a little N. of Er-Rizeikât, hence not far from Thebes. Elsewhere in the tomb a daughter of Khons named May (Pl. x, below) or May (Pl. xiv) is mentioned next to his son And May Kharemweset, who was The ome second priest of Menkheperrer, and these writings of her name might easily be phonetic spellings of the name of the afore-mentioned daughter of Ruia; but whereas the latter was a chantress of Mont the former was a chantress of Amūn (Pl. xiv), which renders the identification doubtful. The mother of the second priest Kharemweset just mentioned was The Maay (Pl. xix, top left), who was likewise a chantress of Amun.

Now though it is nowhere explicitly so stated, this Maay whom we find again portrayed next to Khons in Pl. XI, bottom, where she is accorded the epithet MAN greatly praised of Hathor, lady of On, was undoubtedly a wife of Khons, and accepting the hypothesis defended

In the frieze Pl. XIII Iuy, bearing the same title, is named together with his mother Twosret.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> [Possibly this was the priest named on the northern stela (above, p. 11), together with (his wife?) Hentnofret; for her see also Pl. xv, middle, right.]

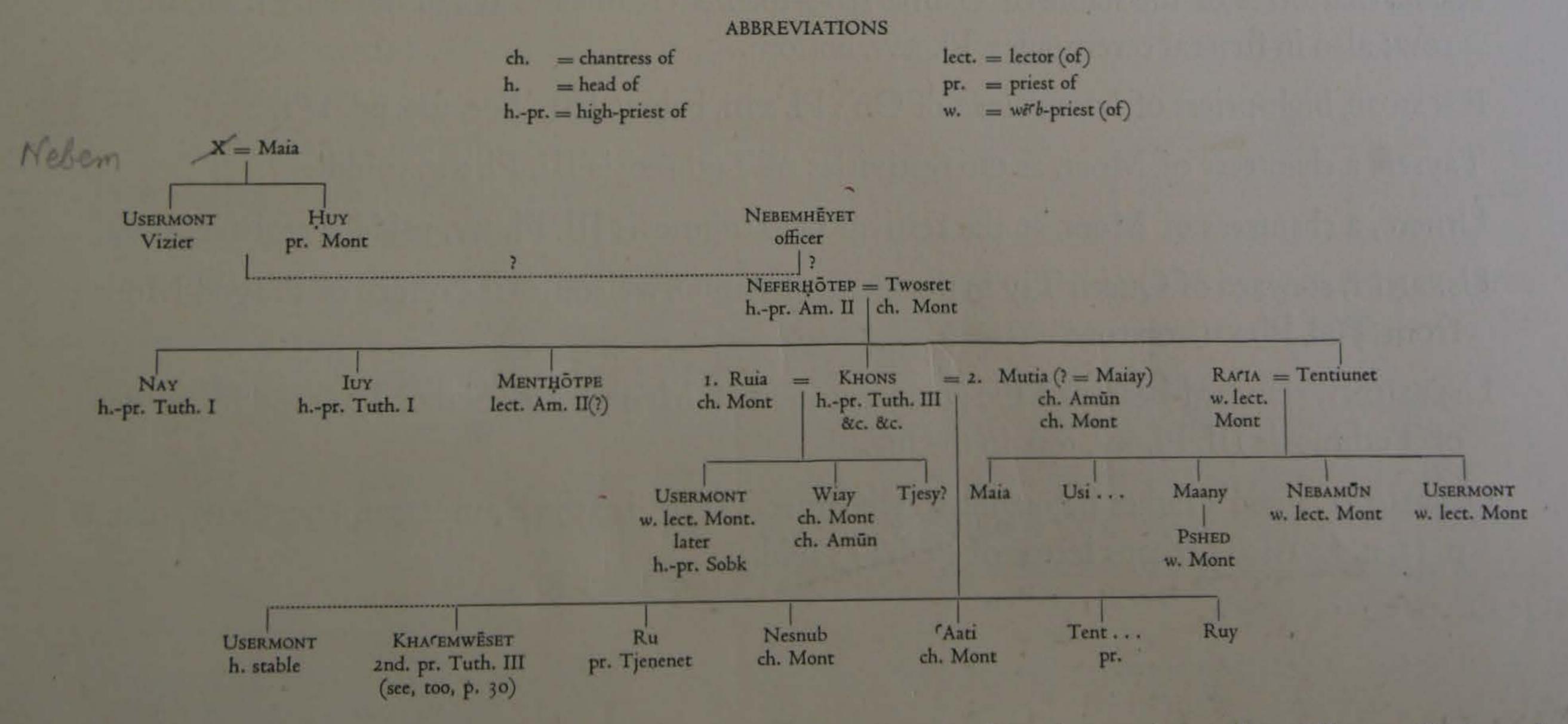
<sup>3</sup> [Davies unnecessarily assumed this title to be a mistake, see above, p. 20, n. 9].

<sup>4 [</sup>See now the correction in Gardiner, Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, Text, 11 274#f.]

### KHONS, HIS FAMILY AND ASSOCIATES

above that the Tjoy of the frieze panel of Pl. XIII was none other than To, i.e. Khons himself, we shall recognize her also in the image to chantress of Amun Maiay, whose name there accompanies his. The question now arises: what was the relationship of this Maay or Maiay to the chantress of Amun Mutia definitely stated to be his wife and acting as chief mourner at the funeral of Khons (Pl. xvI)? She was also prominent at the festival of Tuthmosis III (Pl. xv, middle, behind the shrine). In view of the identical title and the common initial and final elements in the names, it seems by no means unlikely that Maay or Maiay was an abbreviation of Mutia, and that the possible two wives were in reality only one. Davies was probably correct in thinking that the MIN Taiay who stands next to the mother Twosret in Pl. XII, top right, was this wife Mutiay with her name slightly misspelt. At any rate we can hardly doubt that she was a wife of Khons, whose daughters, accordingly, will be five out of the six other women in the same group, the two chantresses of Mont Town Nesnub and The Aati, the priestess Tent ..... and the MATTHE priestess of Tjenenet of On Ru, and the titleless woman or child Ruy. It must be the mother of the priestess Ru who stands holding a sistrum immediately behind her, for here Ru is described as 37 mm the daughter of the chantress of Mont Mai. The mention of Mai here goes far to prove that Mutiay and Maay or Maiay or Mai are no more than variant names. The only difficulty is that Mai here, as also in Pl. xv, middle register, right, is presented as a chantress of Mont, not of Amun; perhaps she and the above discussed Wiay, the daughter of the first wife Ruia, enjoyed both titles.

There remains to be mentioned one more son of Khons, once again of the ancestral name Usermont; he was a head of the stable (Pl. x, below; Pl. xix); the name of his mother is unknown. So far as can be elicited, then, and subject to a few doubts, the family of Khons may be represented in the following tree; the names of men are printed in small capitals, those of women in romans:



Since a grandson of Tentiunet, the sister of Khons, was already a priest when Khons died, and since two of the three sons of Khons by that time held high-priestly positions, it seems probable that he himself reached a ripe old age. Perhaps the whole of his manhood belonged to the reign of Ramesses II, whose cartouche is found on boats and shrines depicted in the tomb, see pp. 13, 15, 16.

A number of other persons are named in the tomb whose relationship to the family of Khons, if indeed any, is doubtful. Those persons whose names are complete are given below in alphabetical order.

Dhutpai, an official of the temple of Tuthmosis III, Pl. XII, second row.

Hentnofret, a chantress of Mont, somehow related to Usermont, a priest of the Ramesseum, northern stela, p. 11, n. 2; also Pl. xv, middle register, right.

IIA, a charioteer, Pl. XII, third-row.

Kaka, rural foreman (c3 n kch), Pl. xv, bottom.

KHACEMWESET, web-priest and lector of Tuthmosis III, at festival of that king, Pl. xv, top row; at the funeral of Khons, Pl. xvi, bottom. Just possibly identical with the son who was second priest, p. 28.

KHACY, with same functions and in same scenes as KHACEMWESET.

Maiay, mother of a marine named PSHED, Pl. XII, third row; it is quite doubtful whether this Maiay was the wife of KHONS.

Nebemhēyet, standard-bearer of the great regiment of Nebmarrēr (i.e. Amenophis III), Pl. xI, on the tug; just possibly paternal grandfather of Khons, see p. 14, with n. 1.

Nefersekhru, rural foreman, (13 n kch) Pl. xv, bottom.

Phasye, a lector, very doubtful, Pl. XI, bottom, and see p. 18, n. 1.

PSHED, a marine in a ship (?) of Pharaoh (probably Ramesses II), Pl. XII, third row; see too above, under Maiay.

RACIA, charioteer of the stable of Usimacrēc-setpenrēc (Ramesses II), in the tug, Pl. XII, third row; also in funeral ceremonies, Pl. XVI, bottom.

RACMOSE, high-priest of Mont (lord of On), Pl. XIII, below, left. See, too, pp. 16 f.

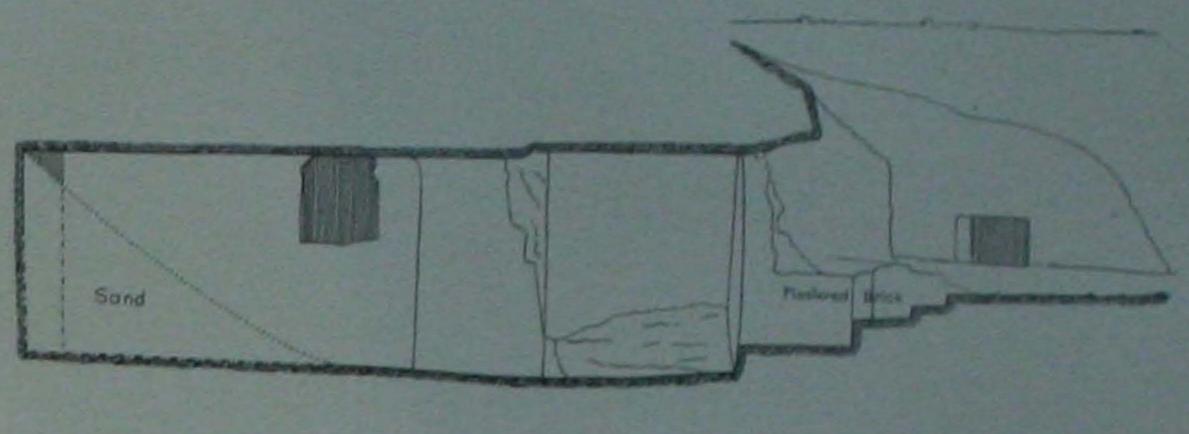
Taysen, a chantress of Mont, at the festivities of Tuthmosis III, Pl. xv, middle.

Urnero, a chantress of Mont, at the festival of Tuthmosis III, Pl. xv, middle register, right.

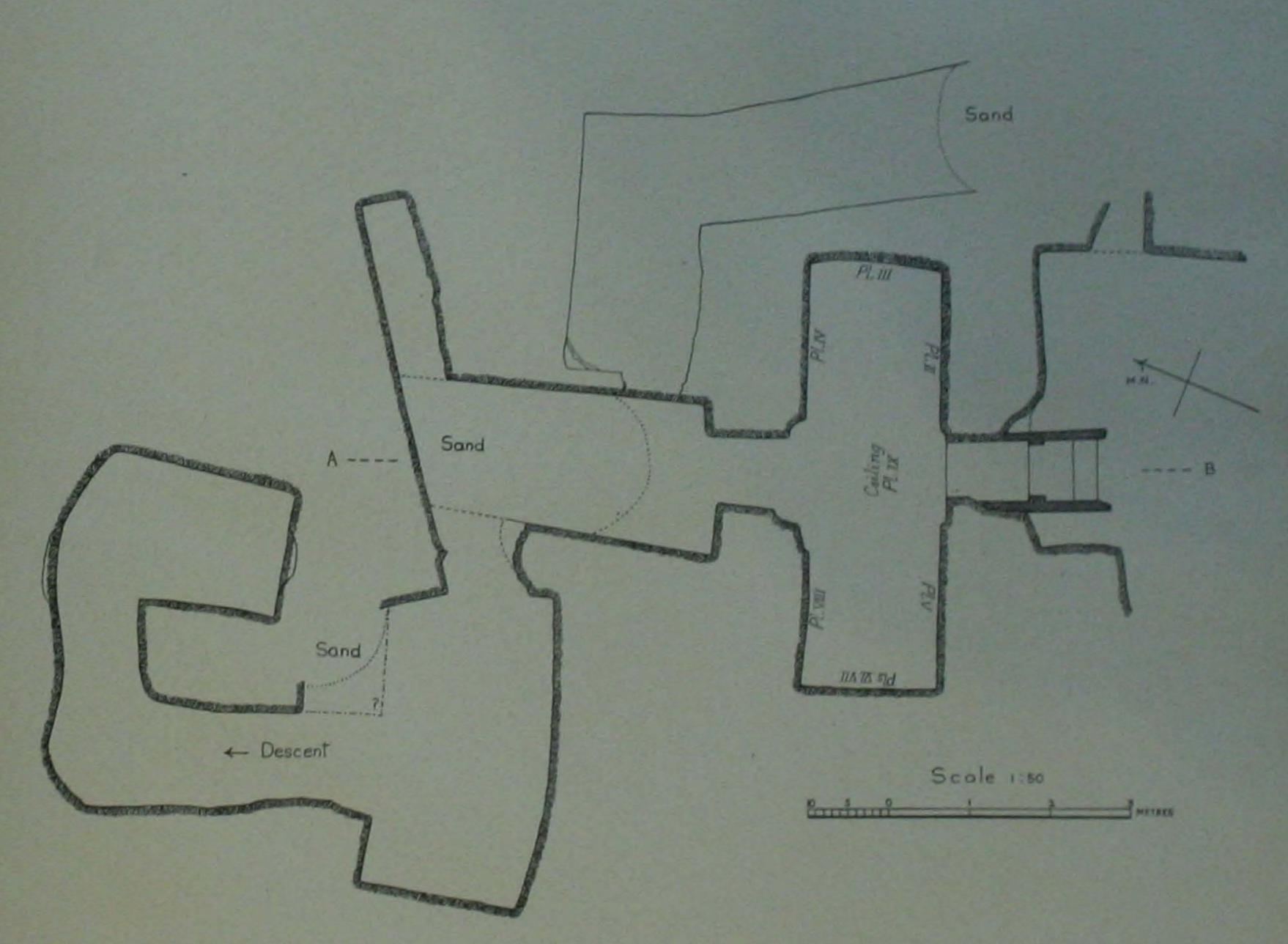
UserḤĒT, steward of Queen Tiy in the estate of Amūn, welcomes the return of the god Mont from Ṭûd, Pl. XII, top row.

Usermont, standard-bearer of the great regiment of Menmarrer (Sethos I), at the festivities of Tuthmosis III, Pl. xv, top, in the tug.

Usermont, a god's father belonging to Khnemet-Wēset, i.e. the Ramesseum, northern stela, p. 11, n. 2. Also perhaps lector of Ptaḥ (?), ibid.]



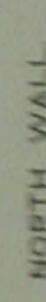
SECTION ON A-B



PLAN

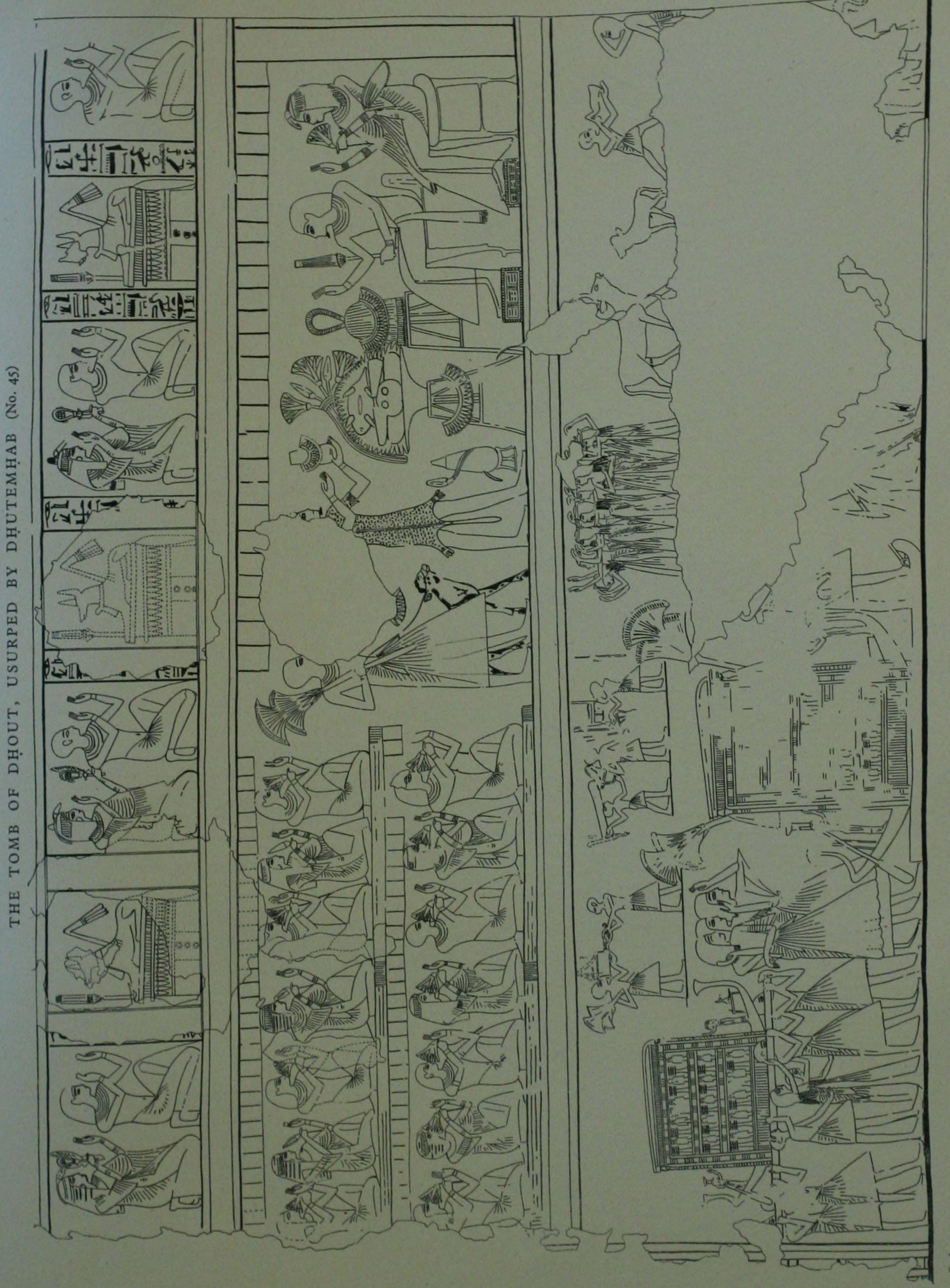
AST WALLS MORTH SIDE

Scale 2: 11

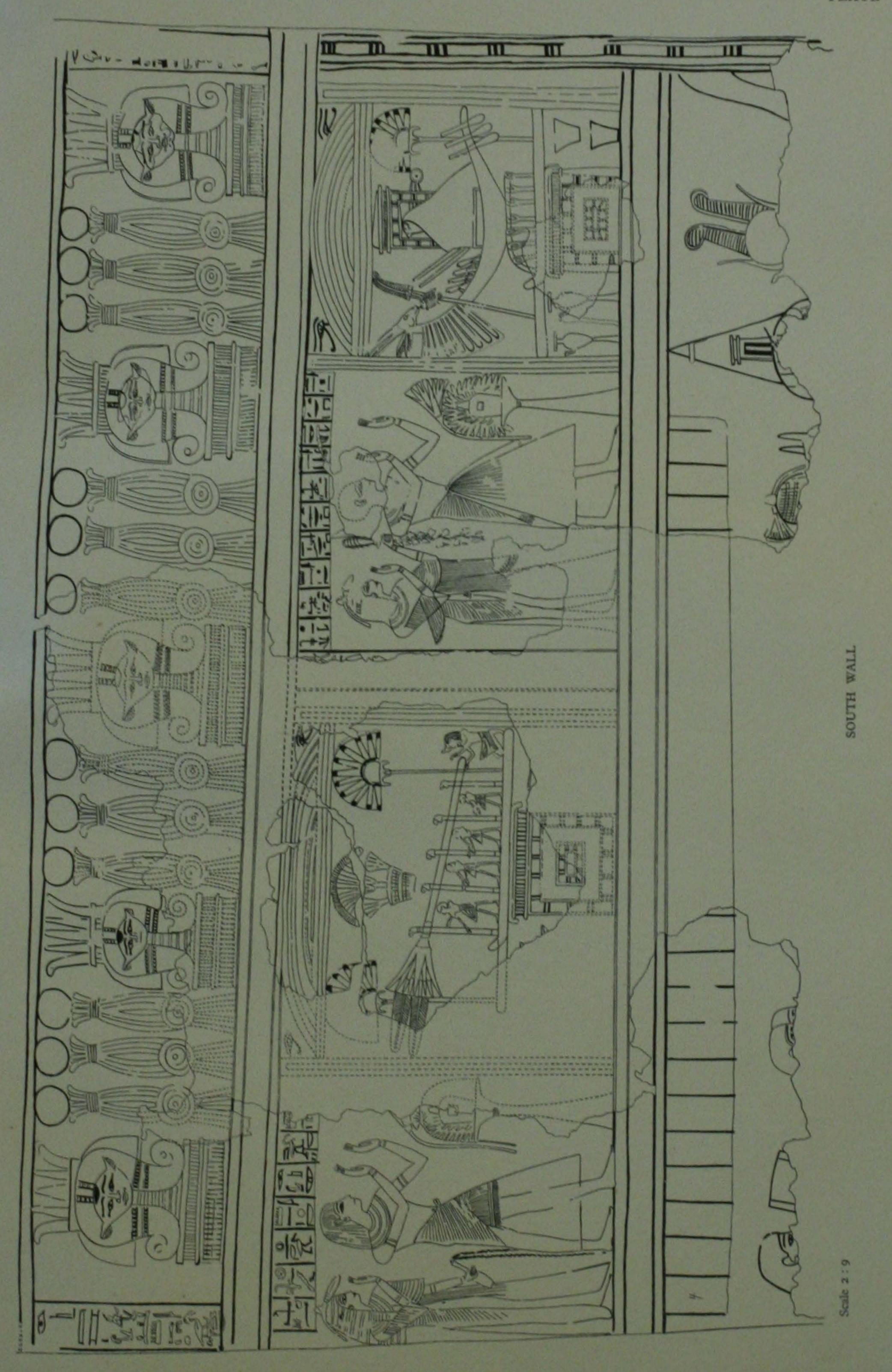




WEST WALL: NORTH SIDE



EAST WALL: SOUTH SID!



IE TOMB OF DHOUT, USURPED BY DHUTEMHAB (No. 45)



THE DECEASED ADORING THE SACRED BARK

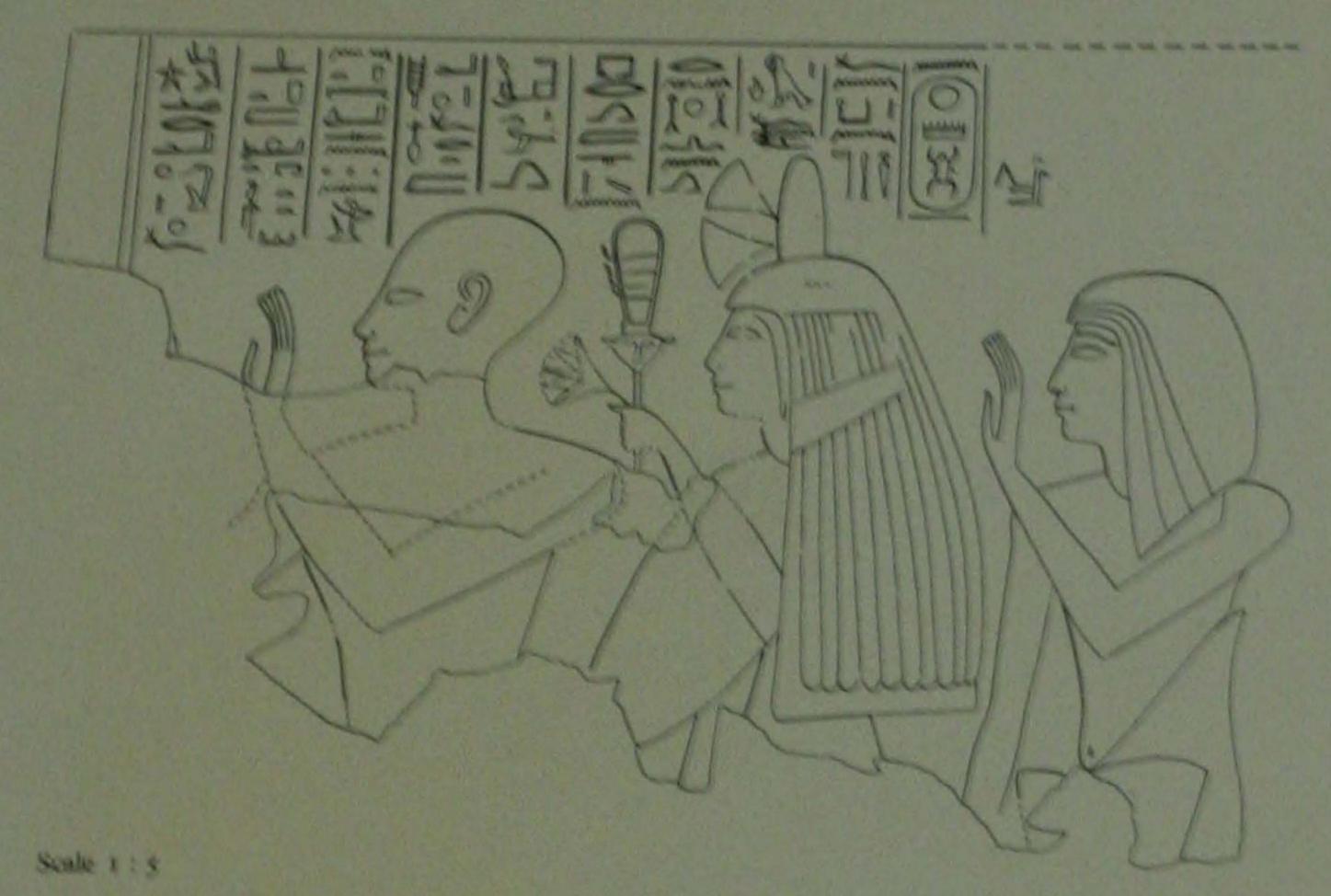




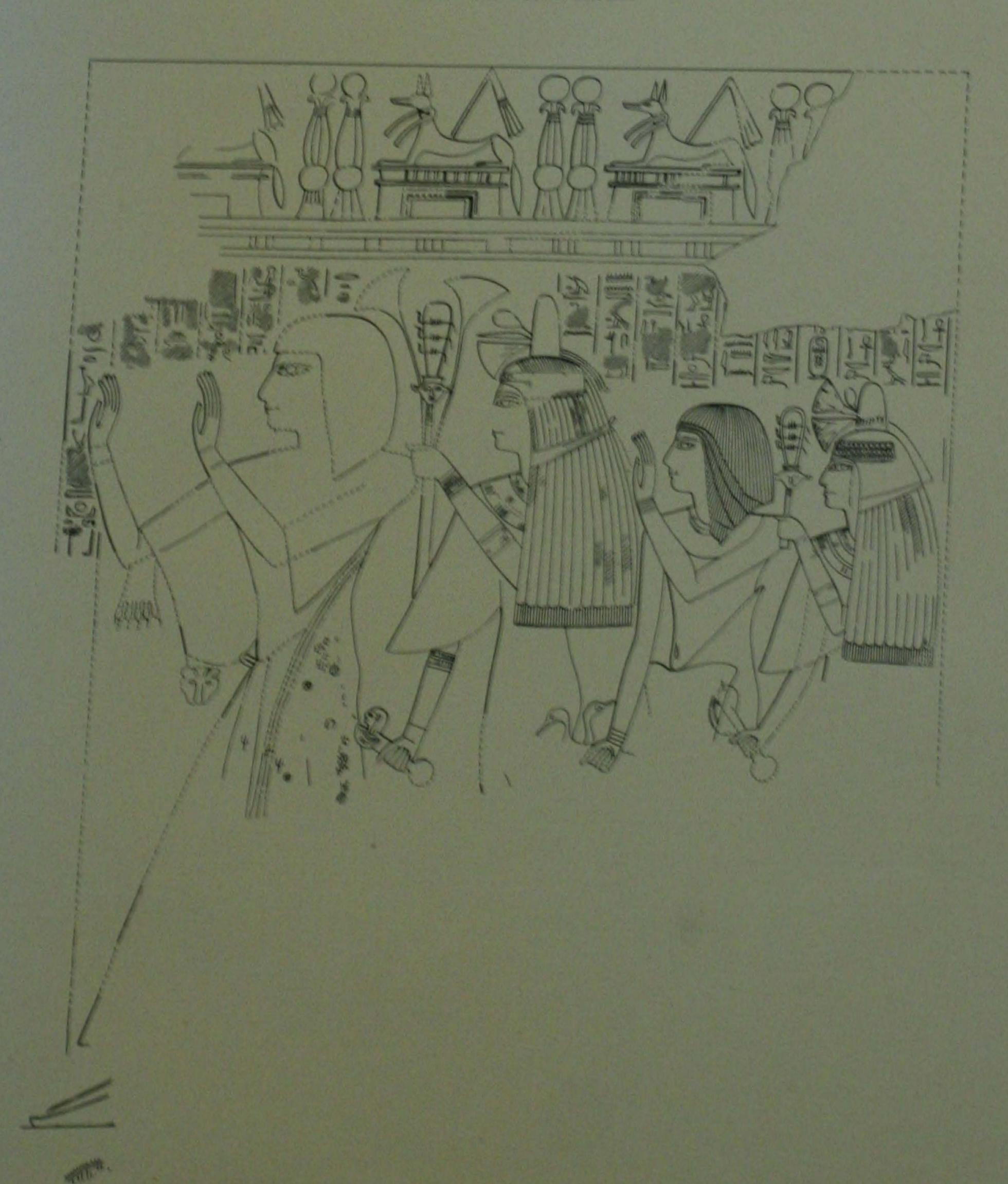
THE TOMB OF DROUT, USURPED BY DRUTEMBAR ON AN

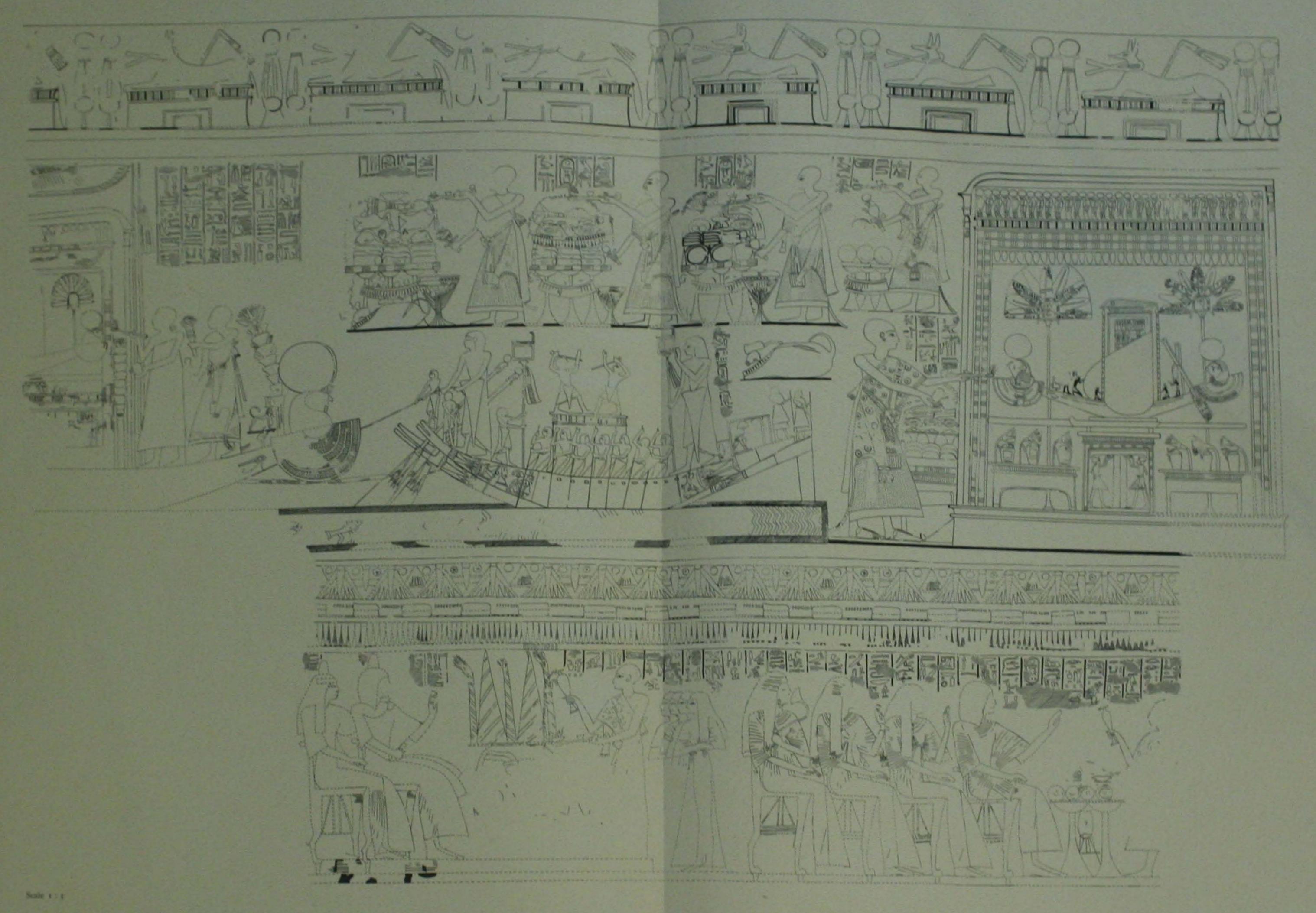


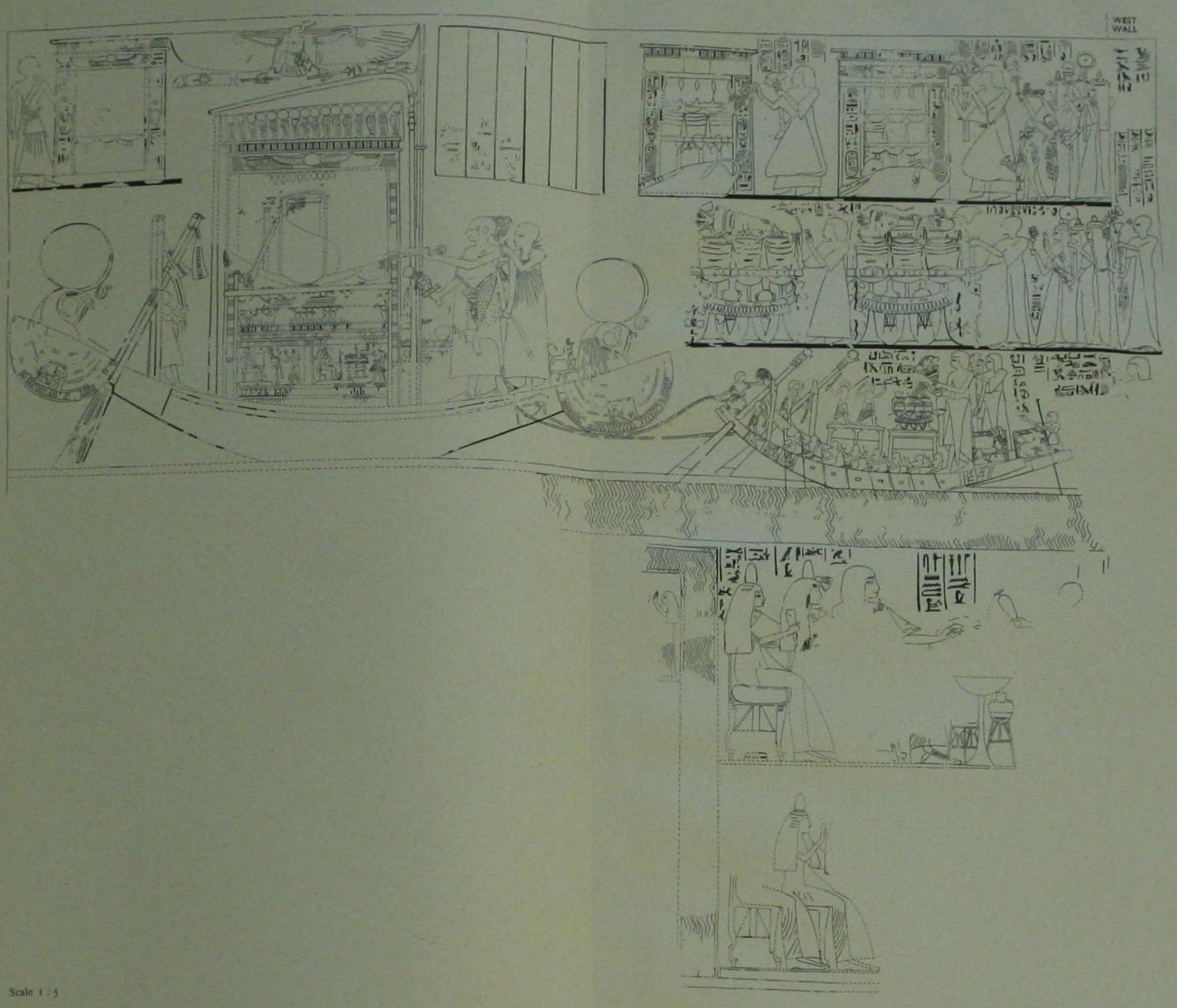
THE TOMB OF DHOUT, USURPED BY DHUTEMHAB (No. 45)

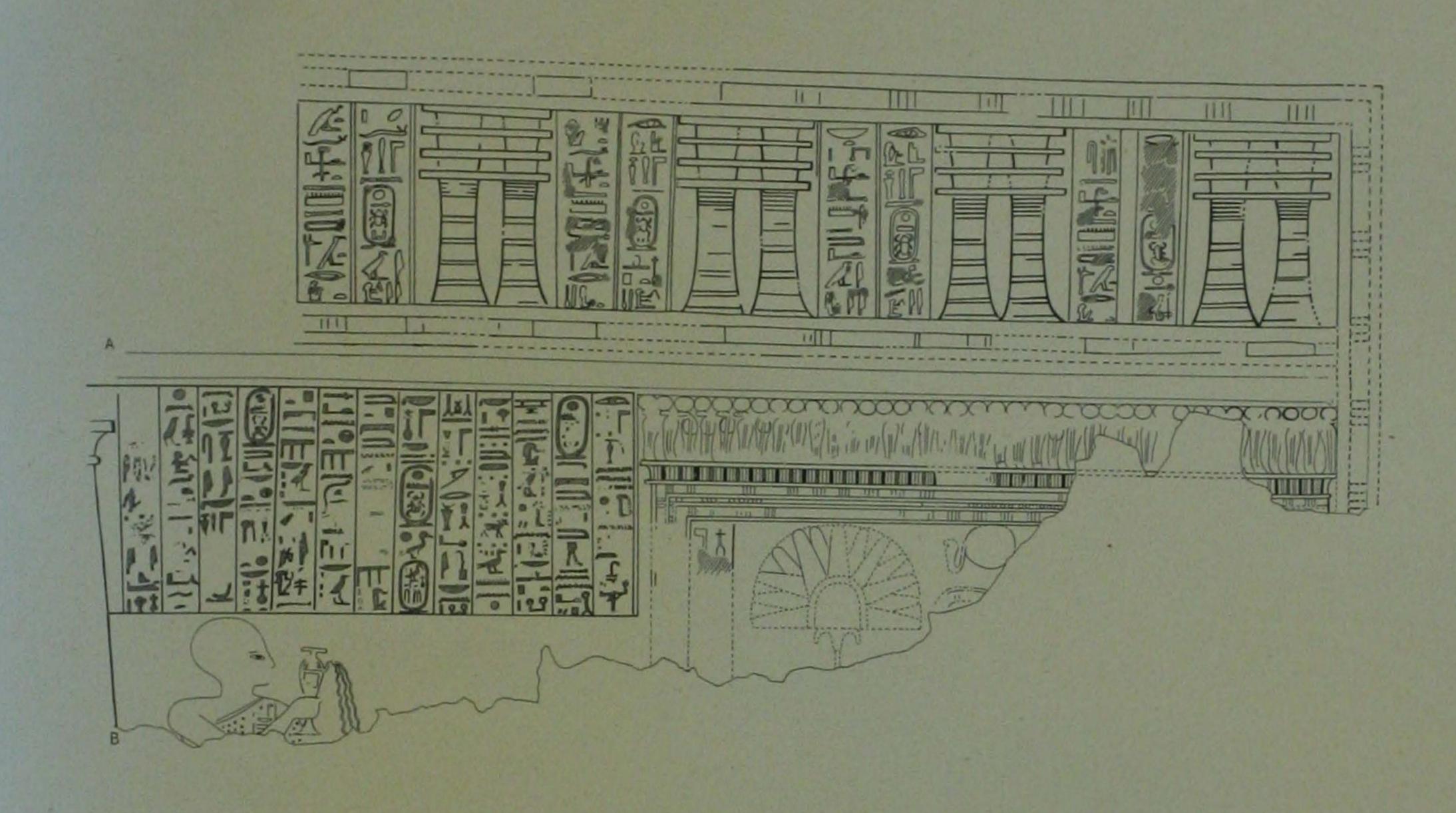


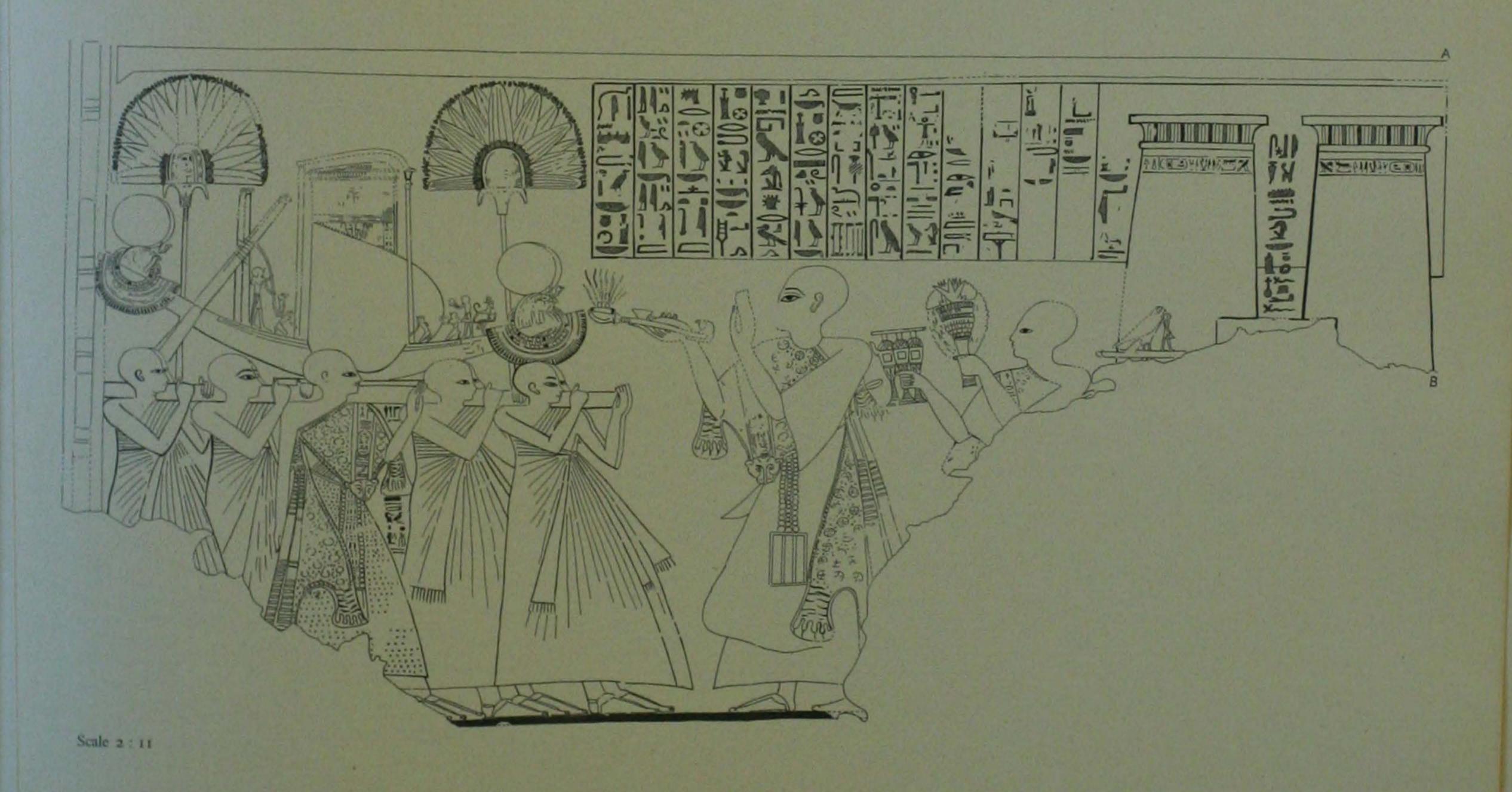
ENTRANCE: NORTH REVEAL



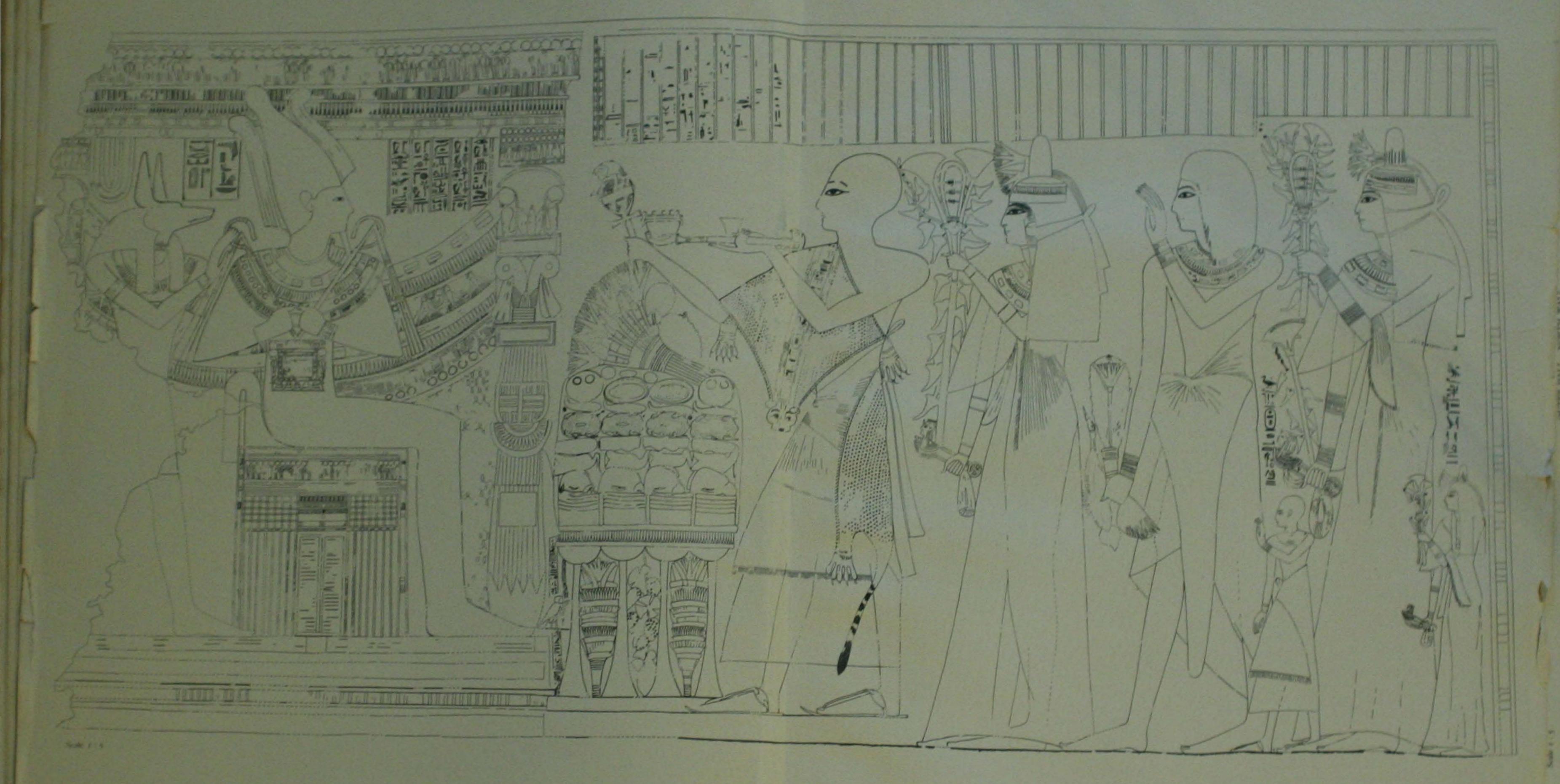






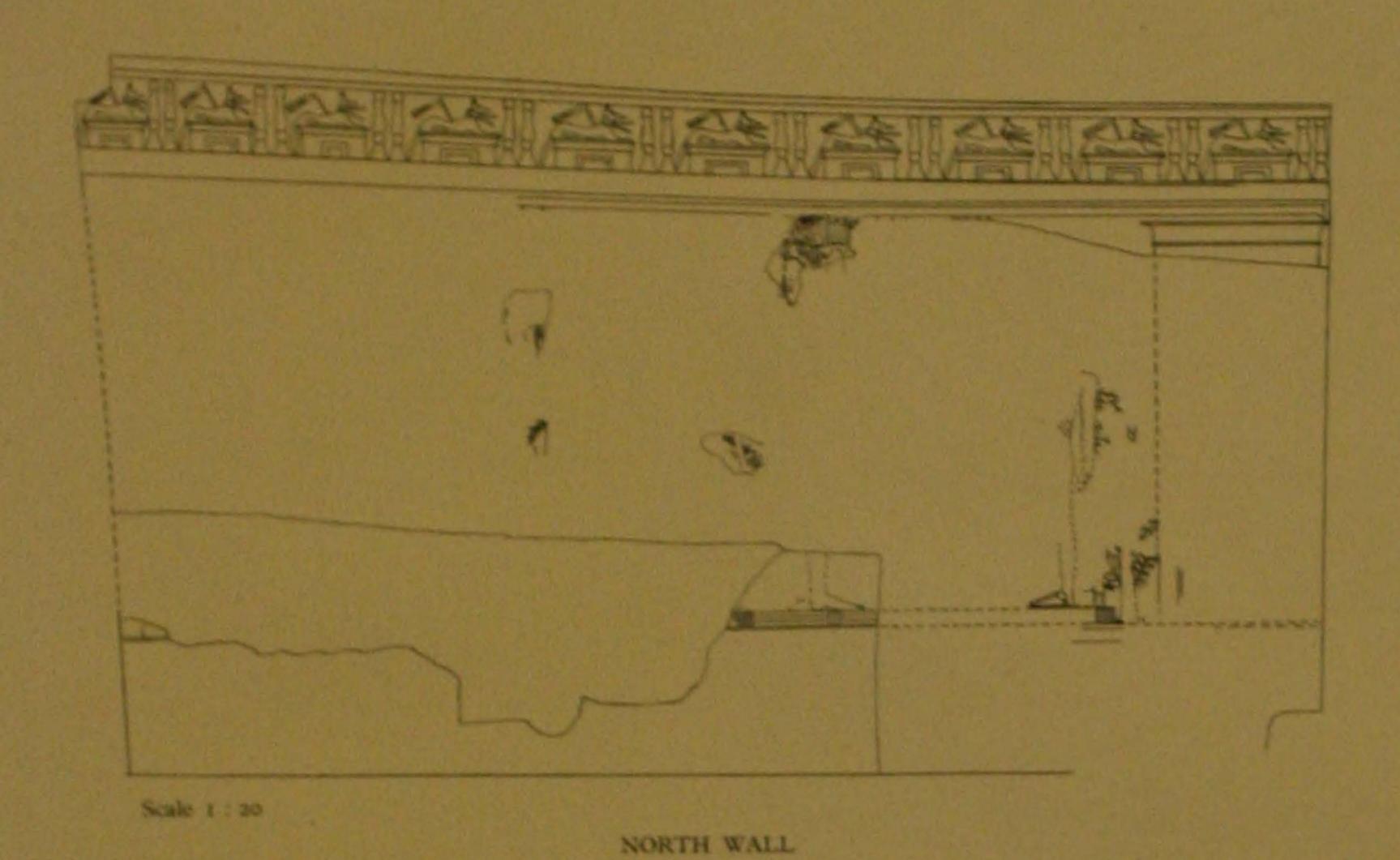


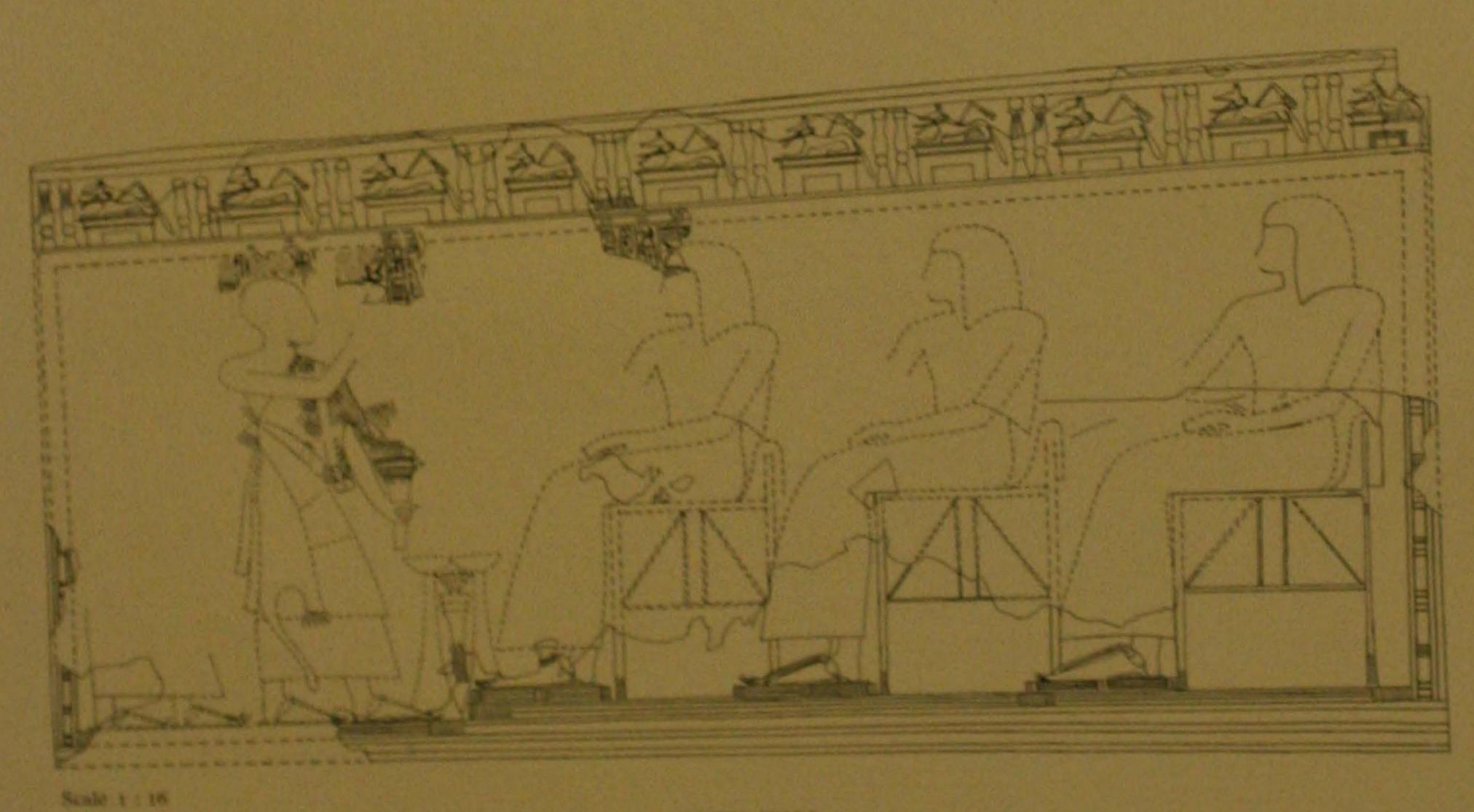
OUTER HALL. WEST WALL: SOUTH SIDE



OUTER HALL WEST WALL NORTH SIDE

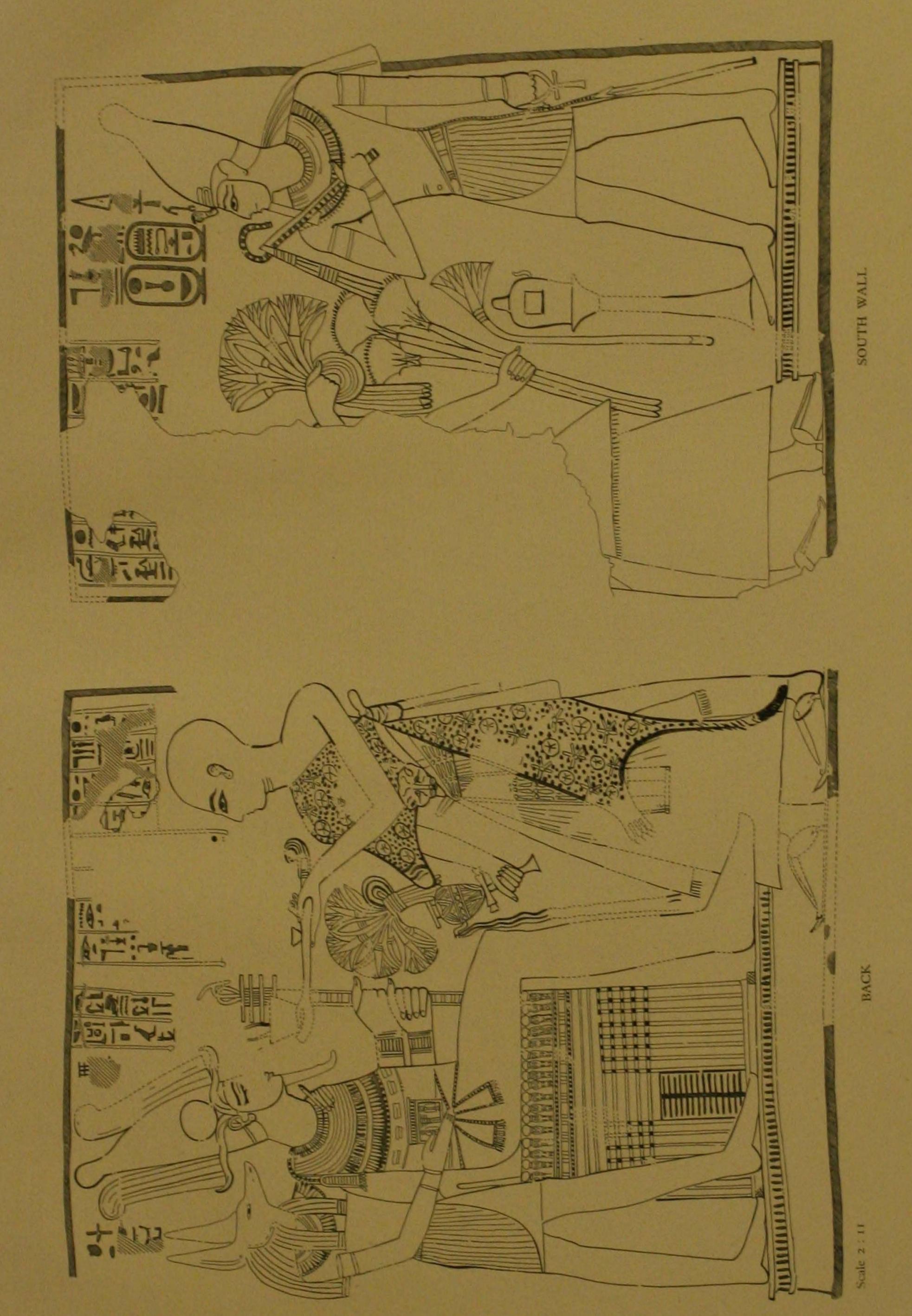


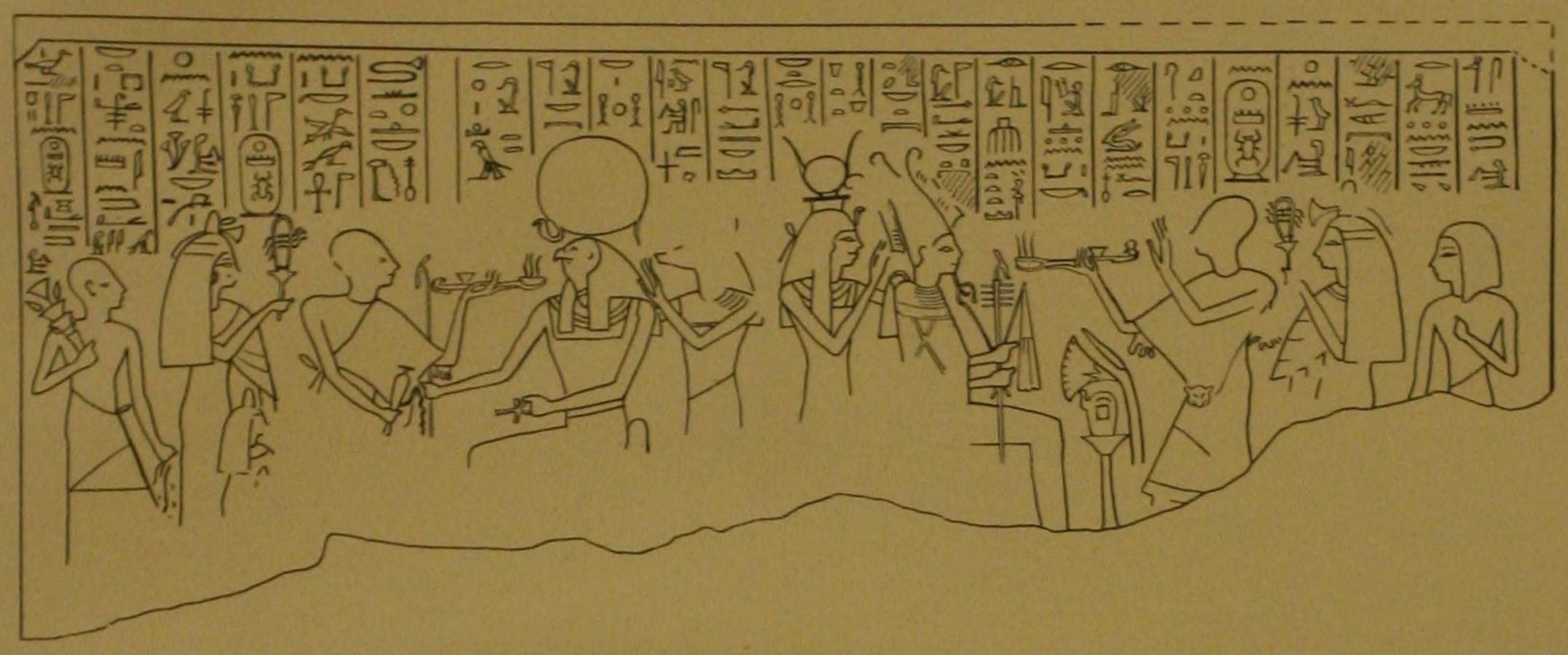




SOUTH WALL

THE PASSAGE





Scale approx. 1:4

SECOND DOORWAY: LINTEL

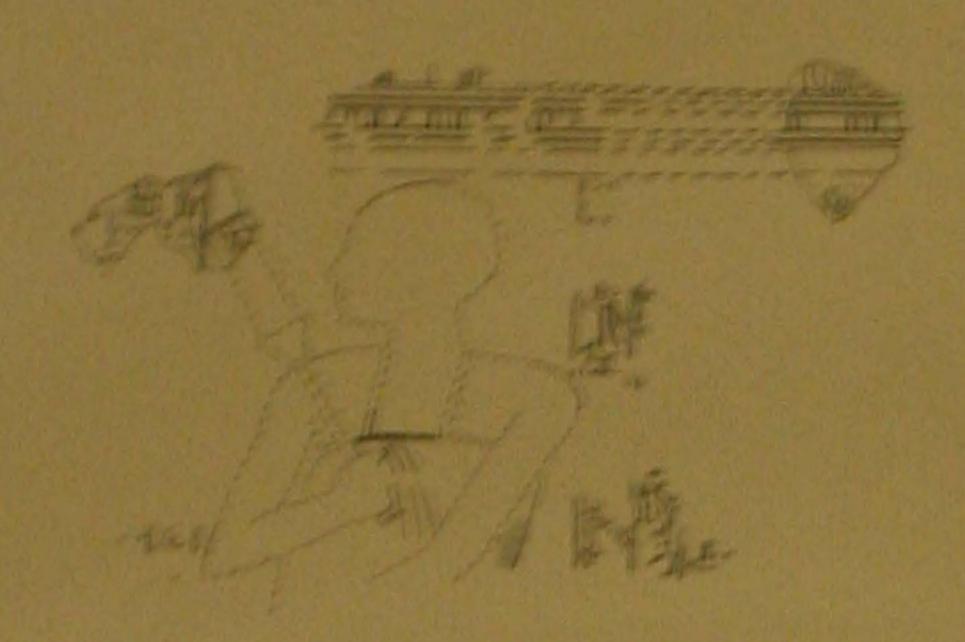


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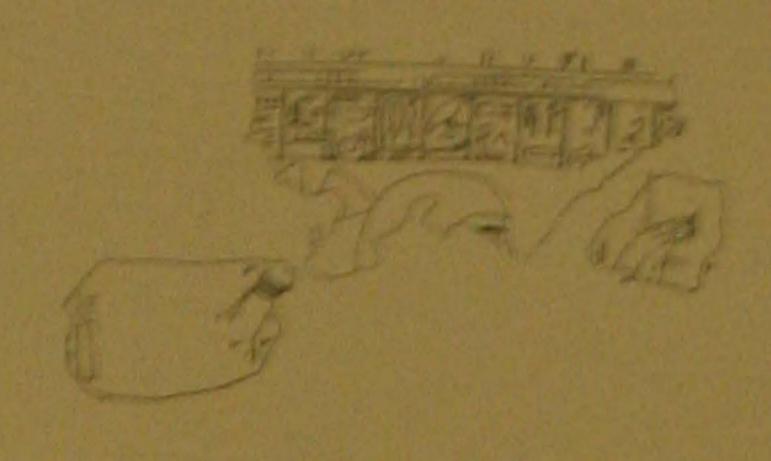
CEILING OF THIRD DOORWAY



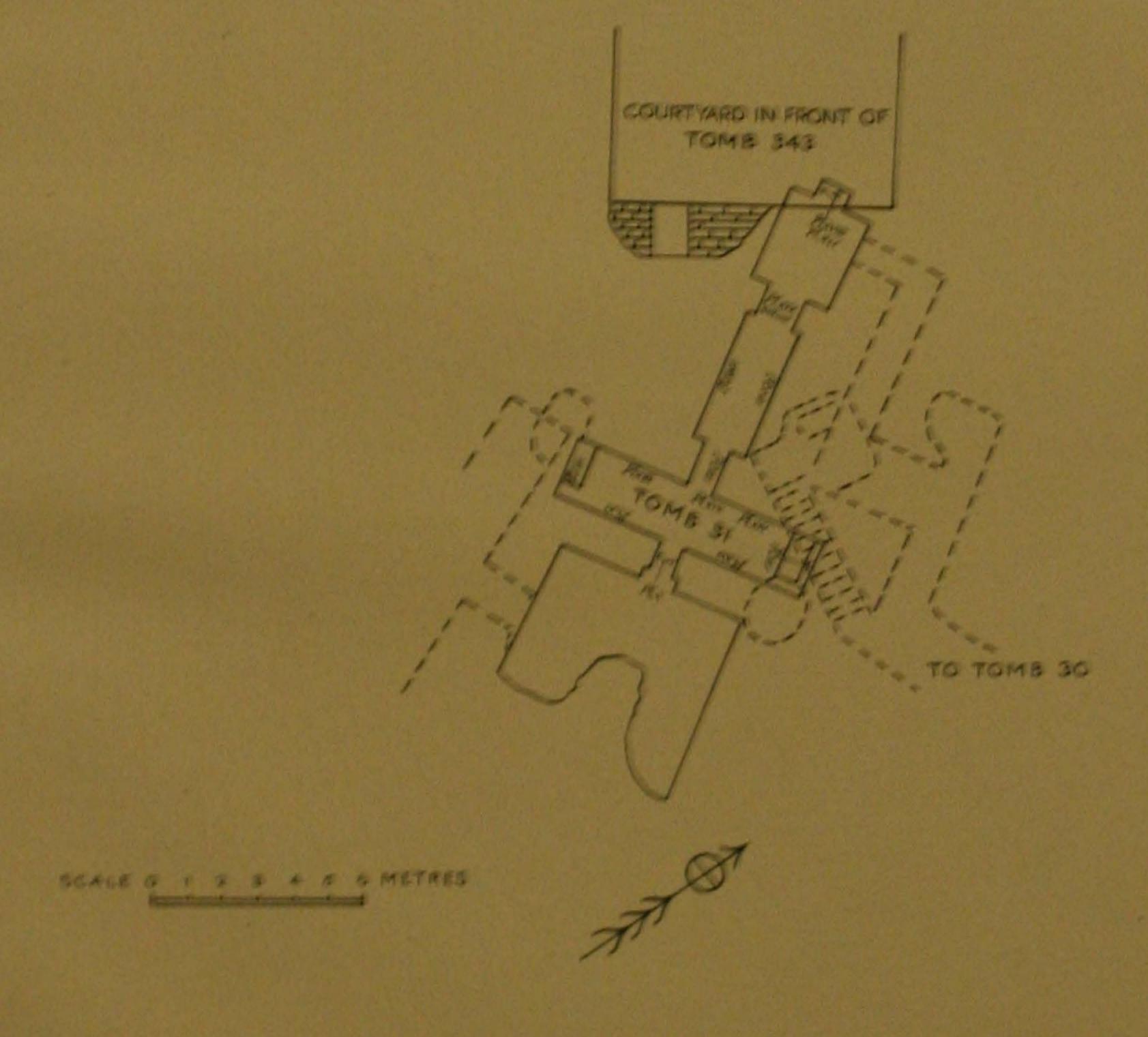
THE PASSAGE, CEILING INSCRIPTIONS



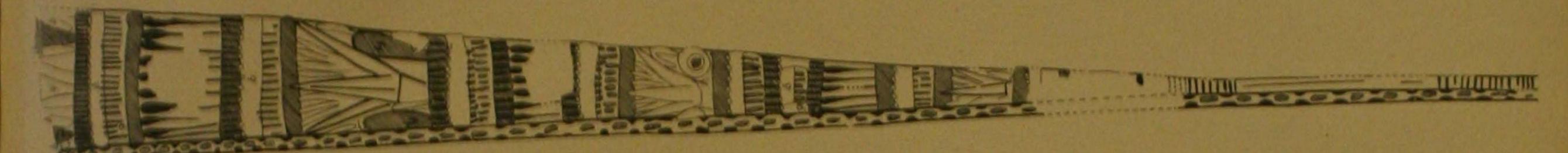
PRACMENT PROM THE PASSAGE



SECOND DOORWAY NORTH REVEAL



ODD DETAILS AND PLAN SHOWING THE RELATIONSHIP TO NEIGHBOURING TOMBS

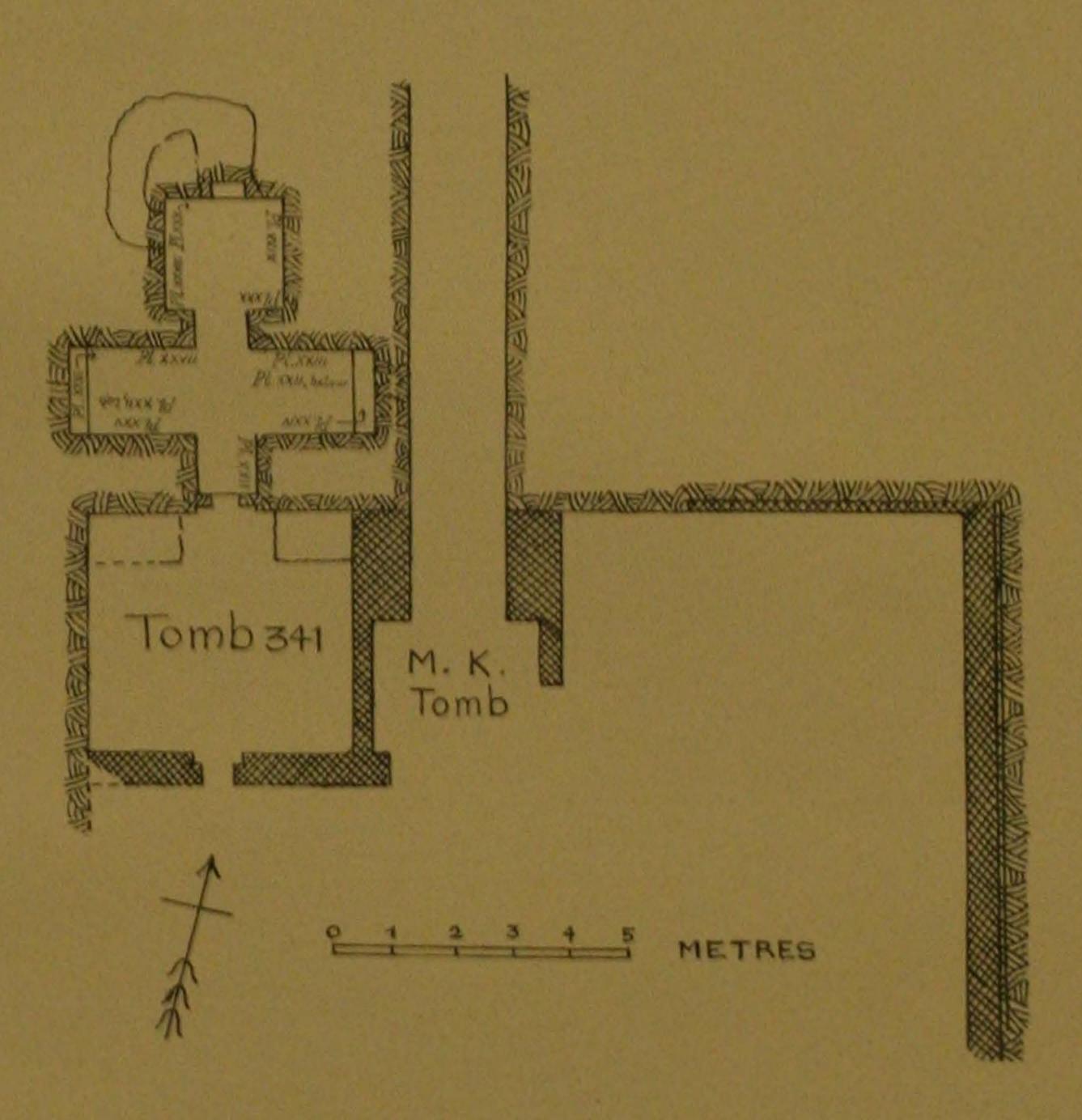


Scale 115

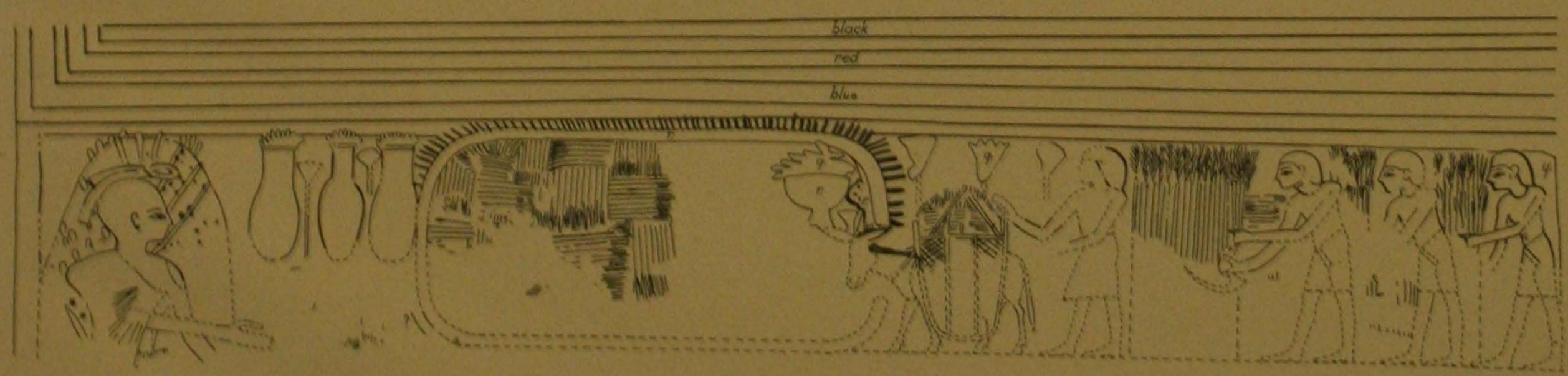
OUTER HALL EAST WALL, SOUTH SIDE, ABOVE FRIEZE



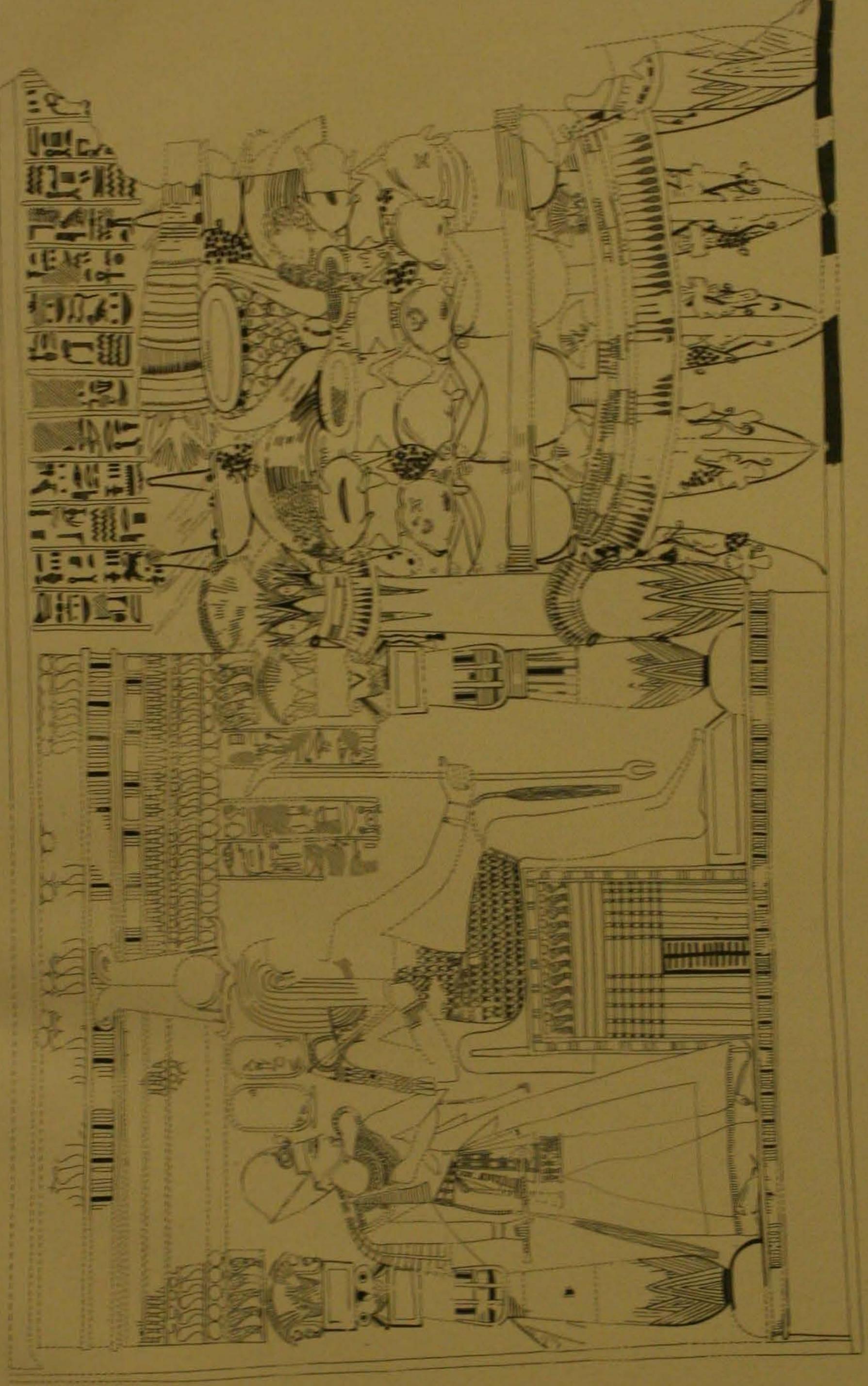
Scale 1:6
ENTRANCE: NORTH REVEAL



PLAN

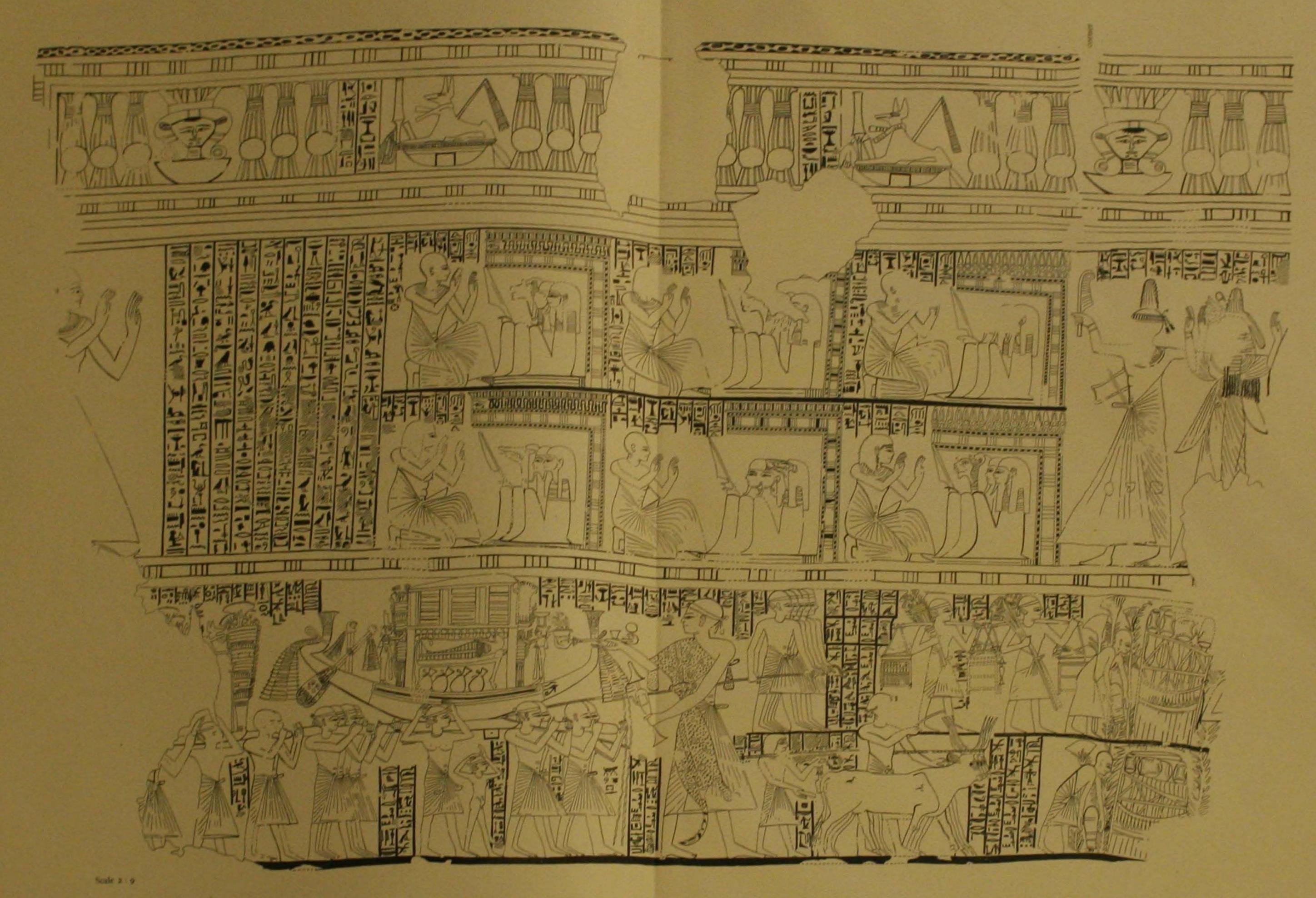


Scale 1:4

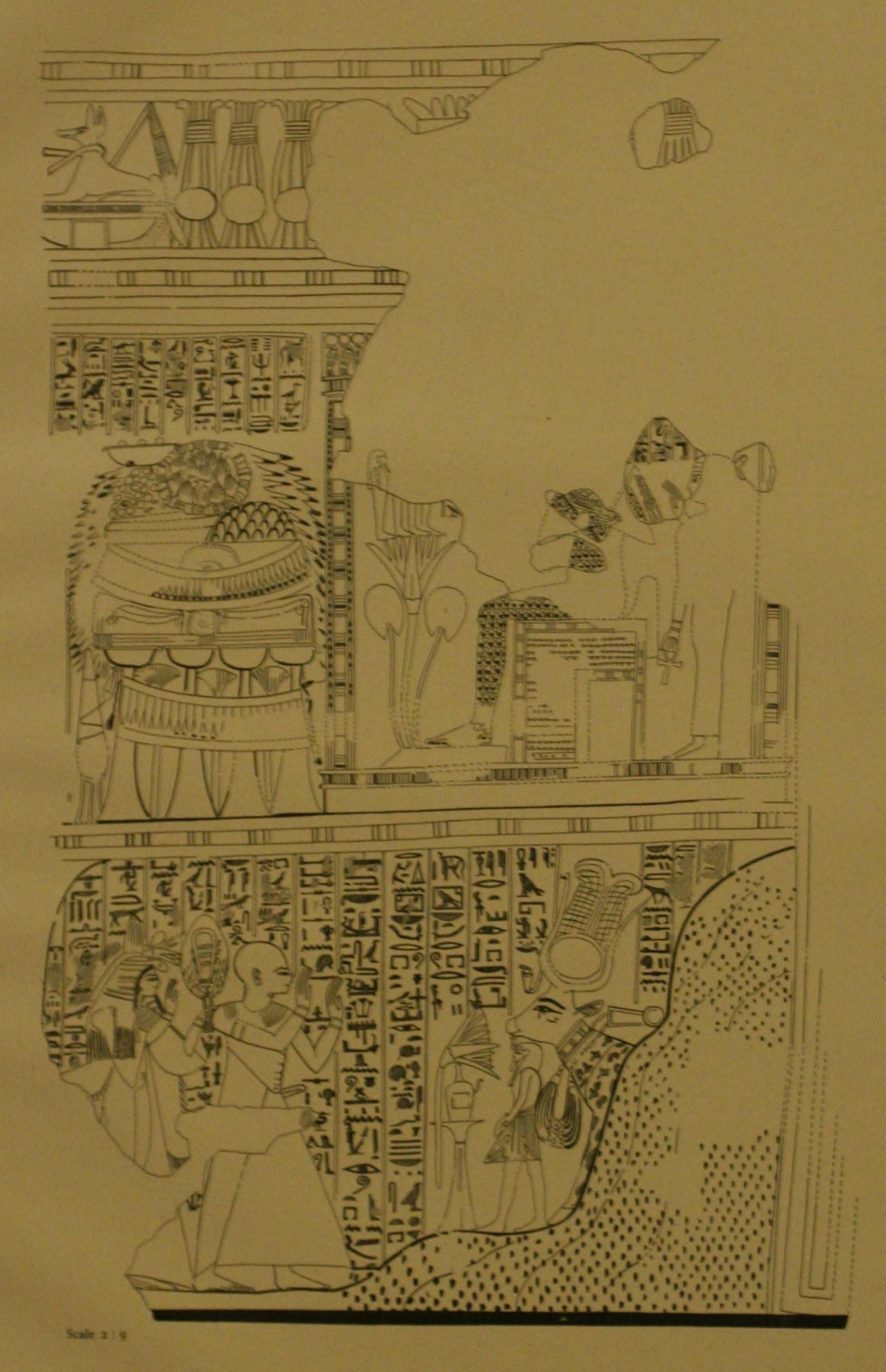




OUTER HALL. EAST WALL AND ADJOINING NORTH WALL



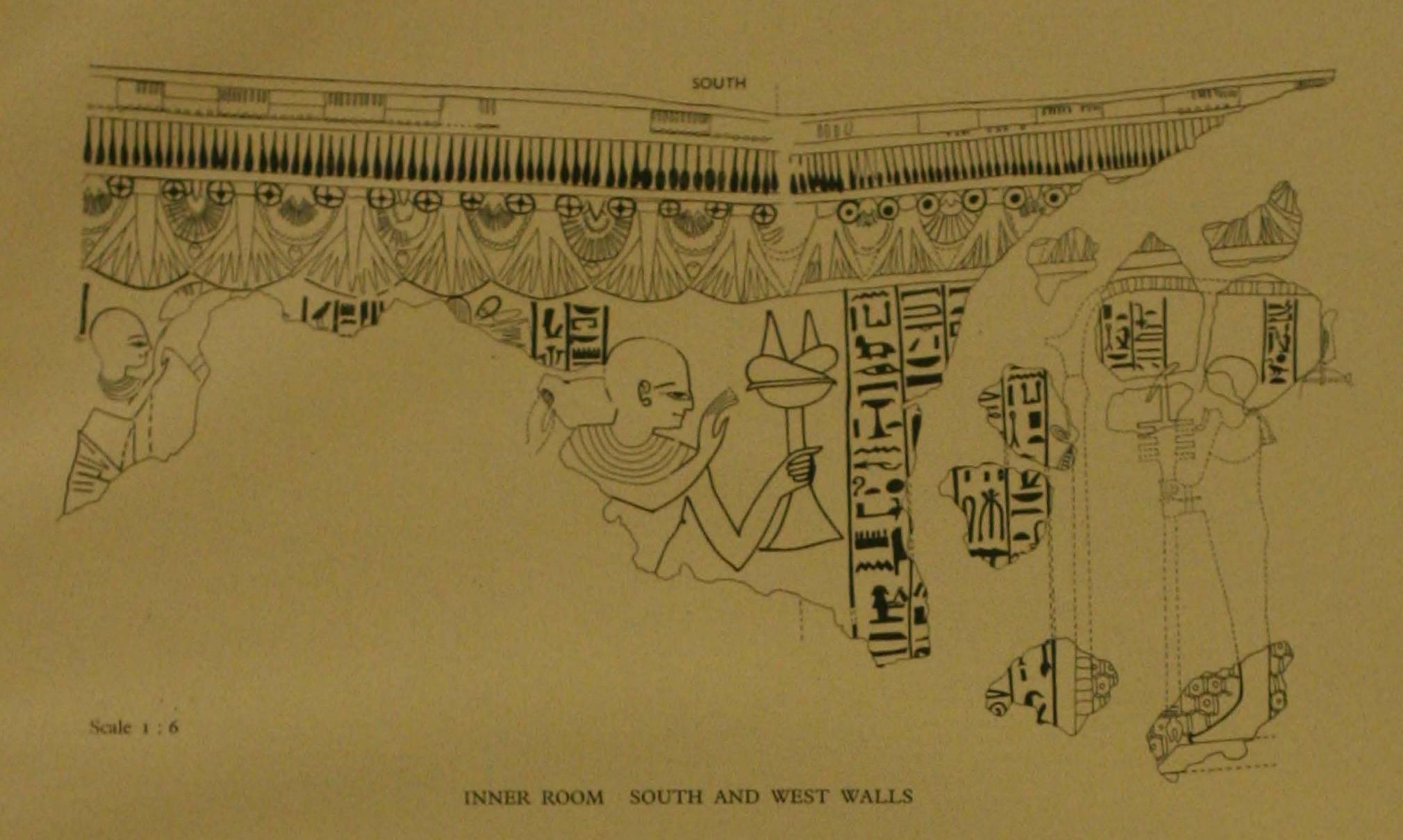
OUTER HALL EAST WALL SOUTH SIDE



INNER BOOM BACT AND COLUMN WALLS

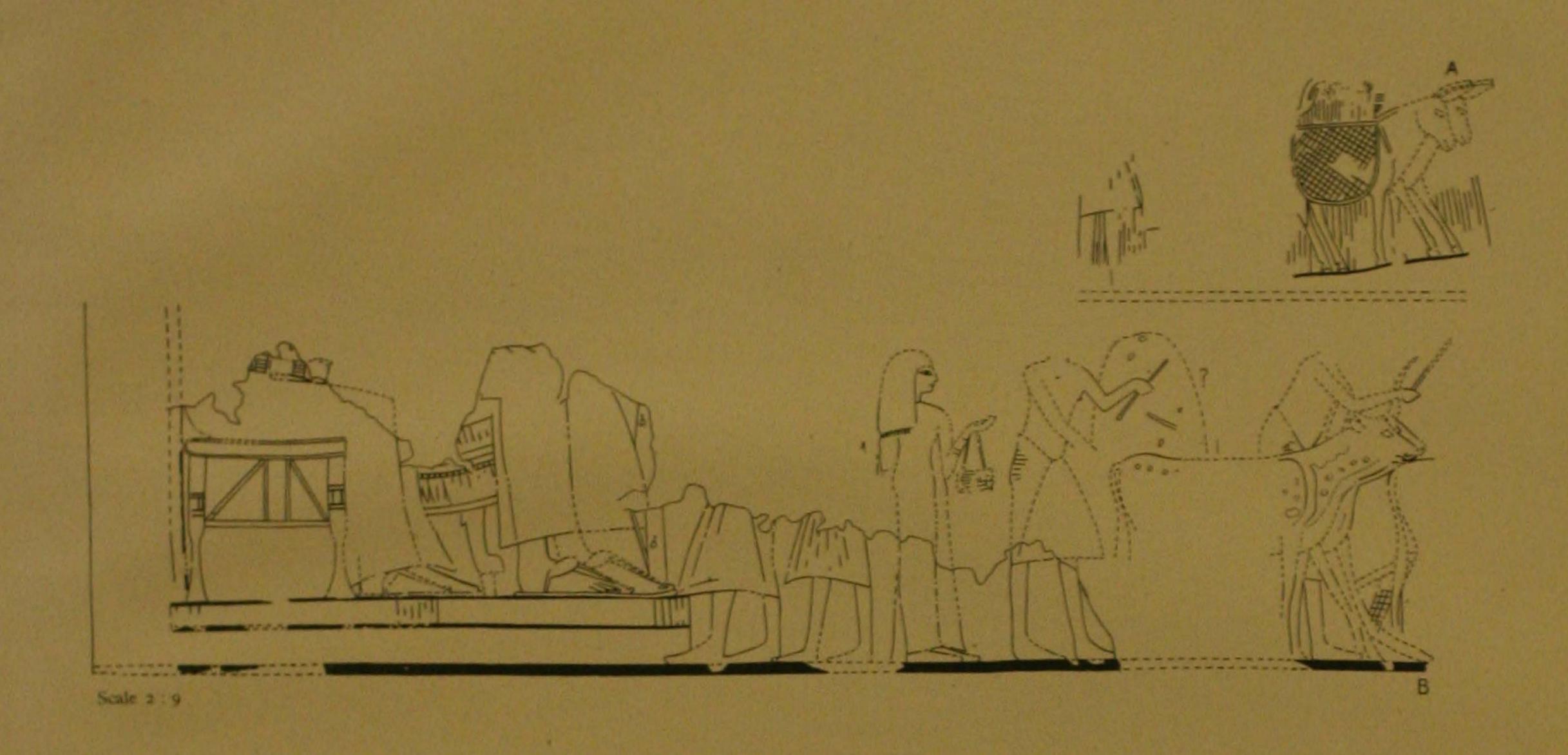


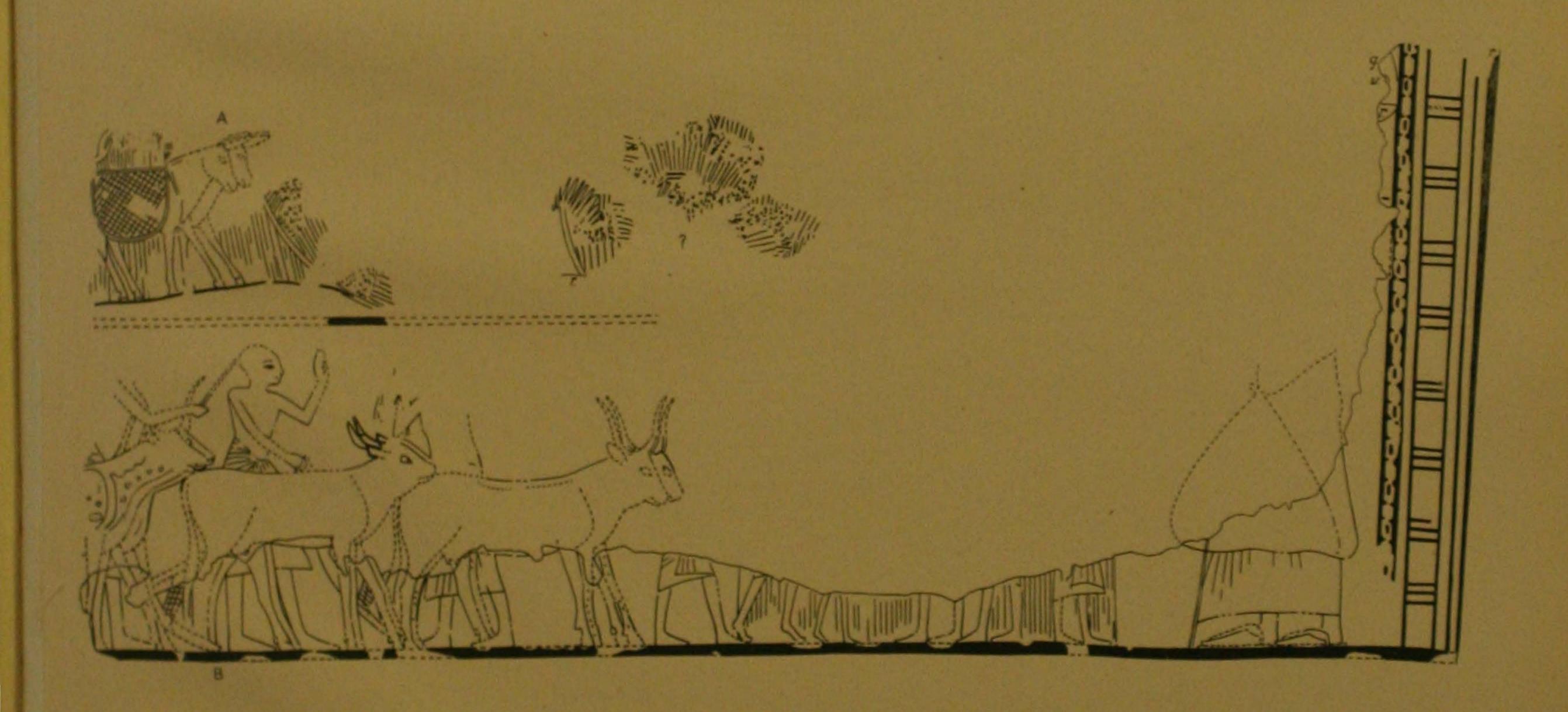
INNER ROOM. NORTH WALL



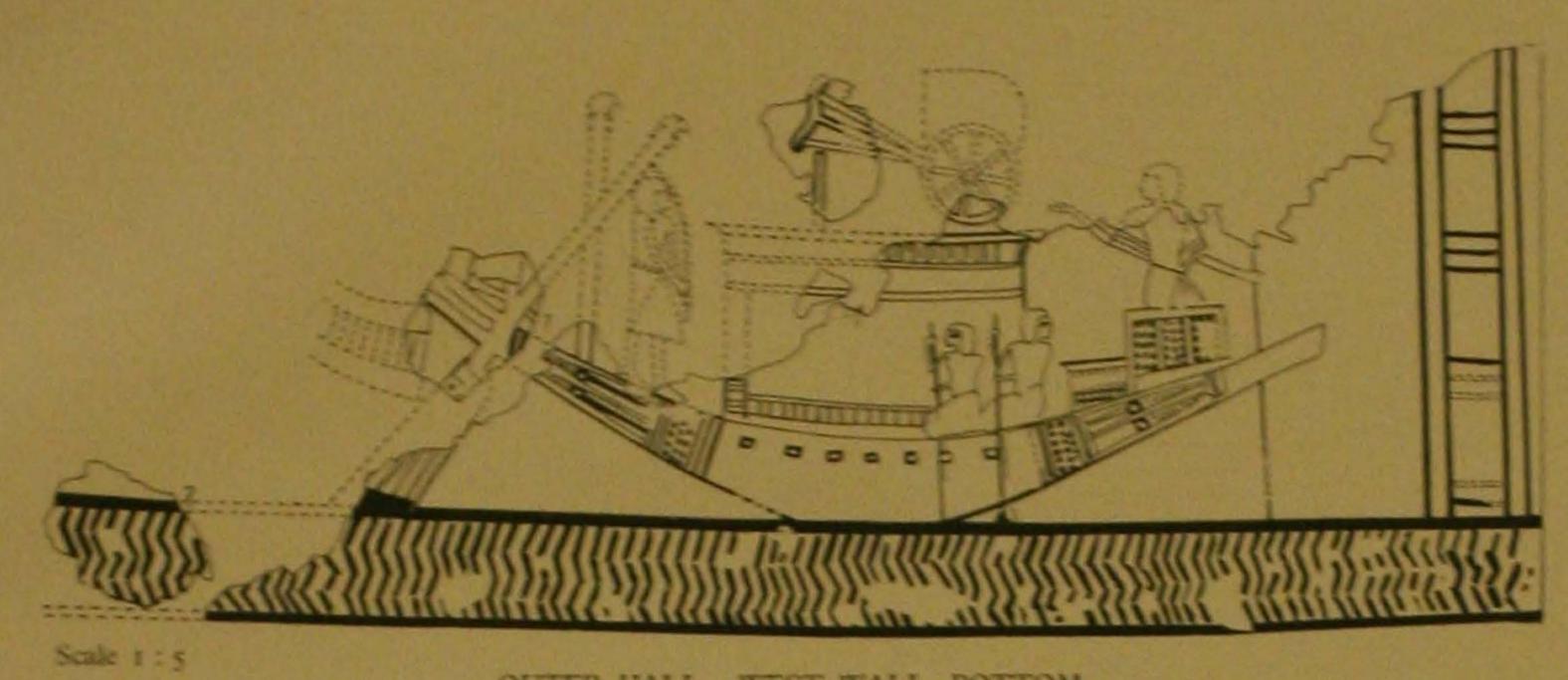


INNER ROOM. EAST WALL: NORTH SIDE





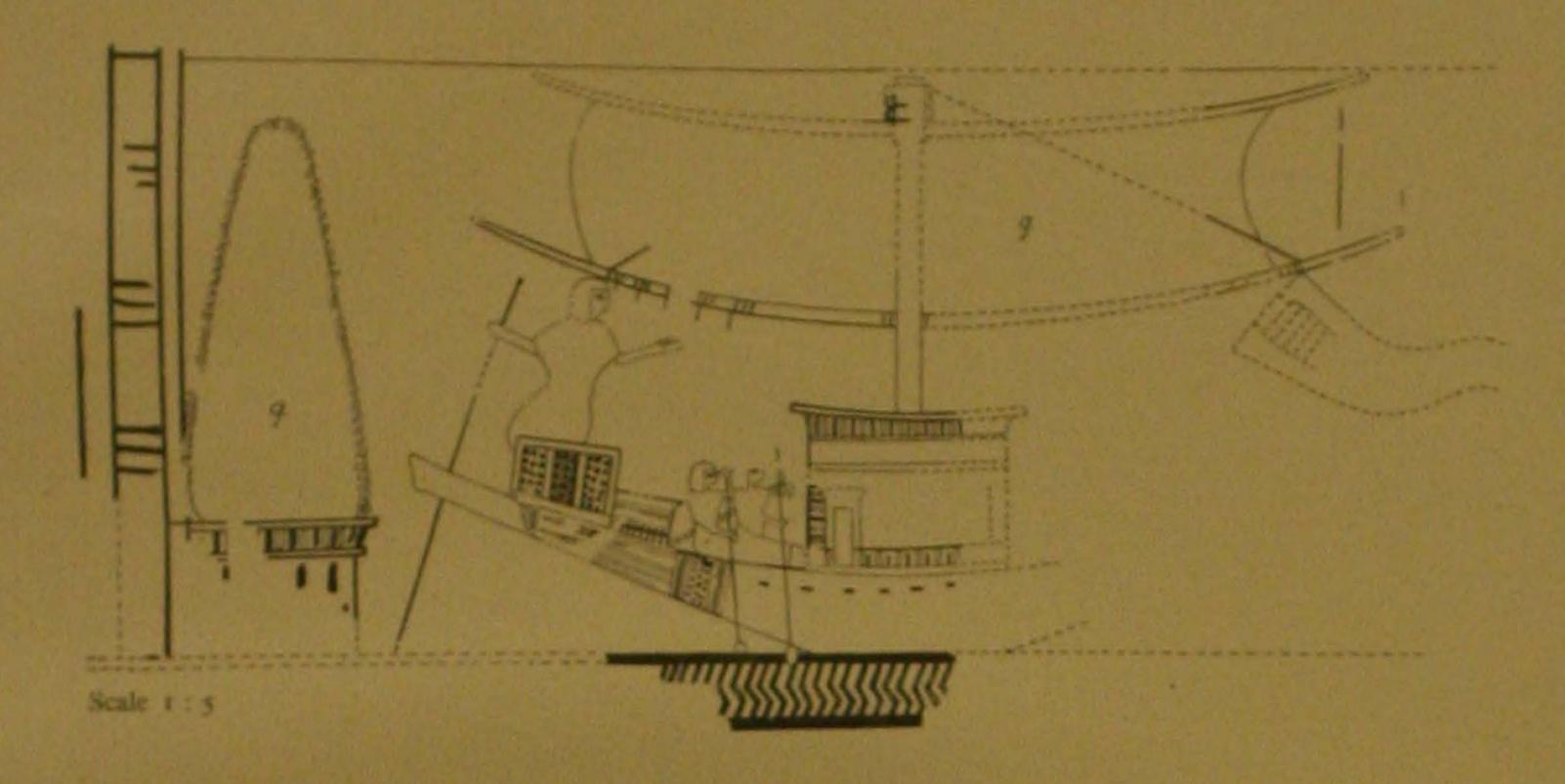
OUTER HALL NORTH WALL: EAST SIDE



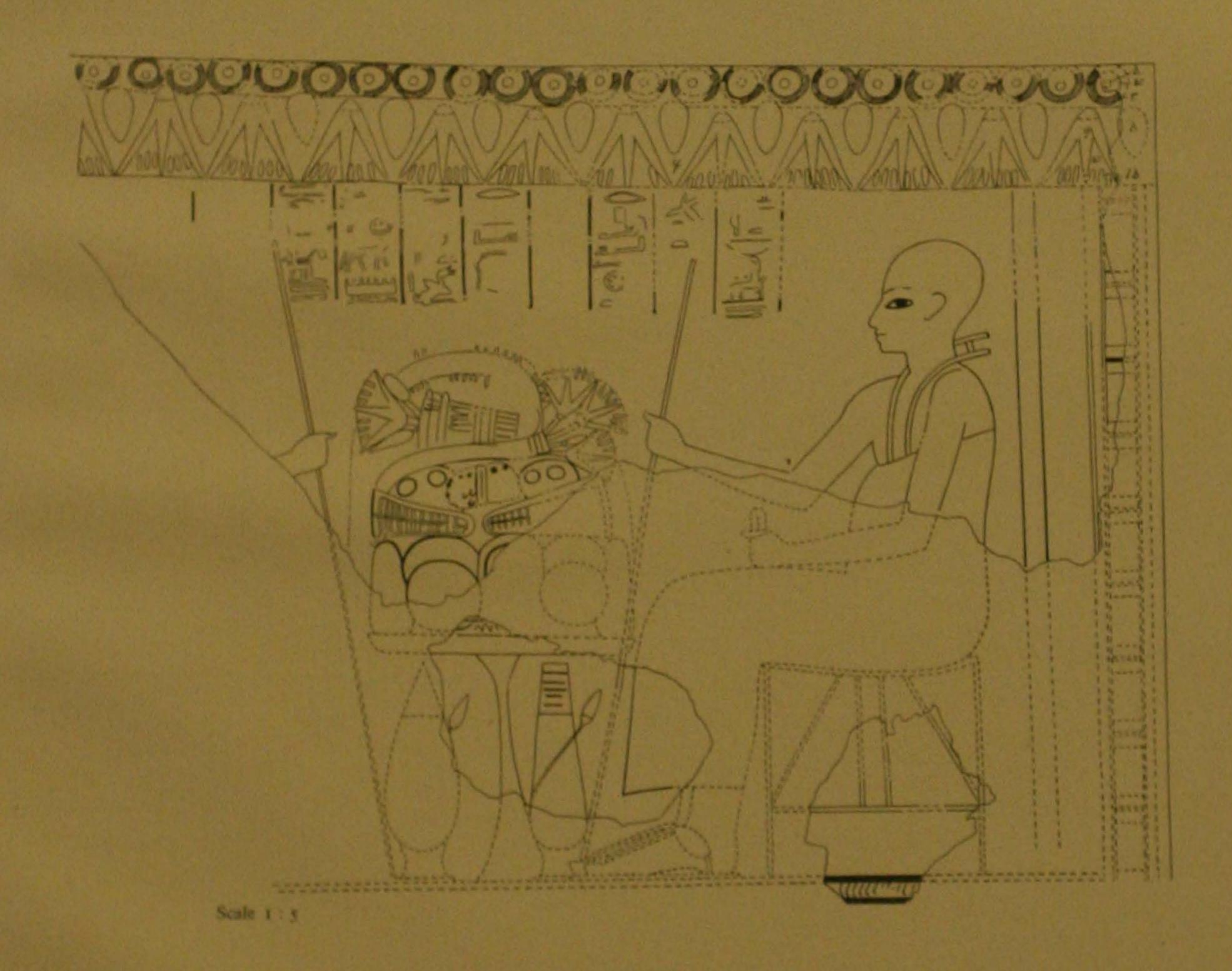
OUTER HALL. WEST WALL, BOTTOM



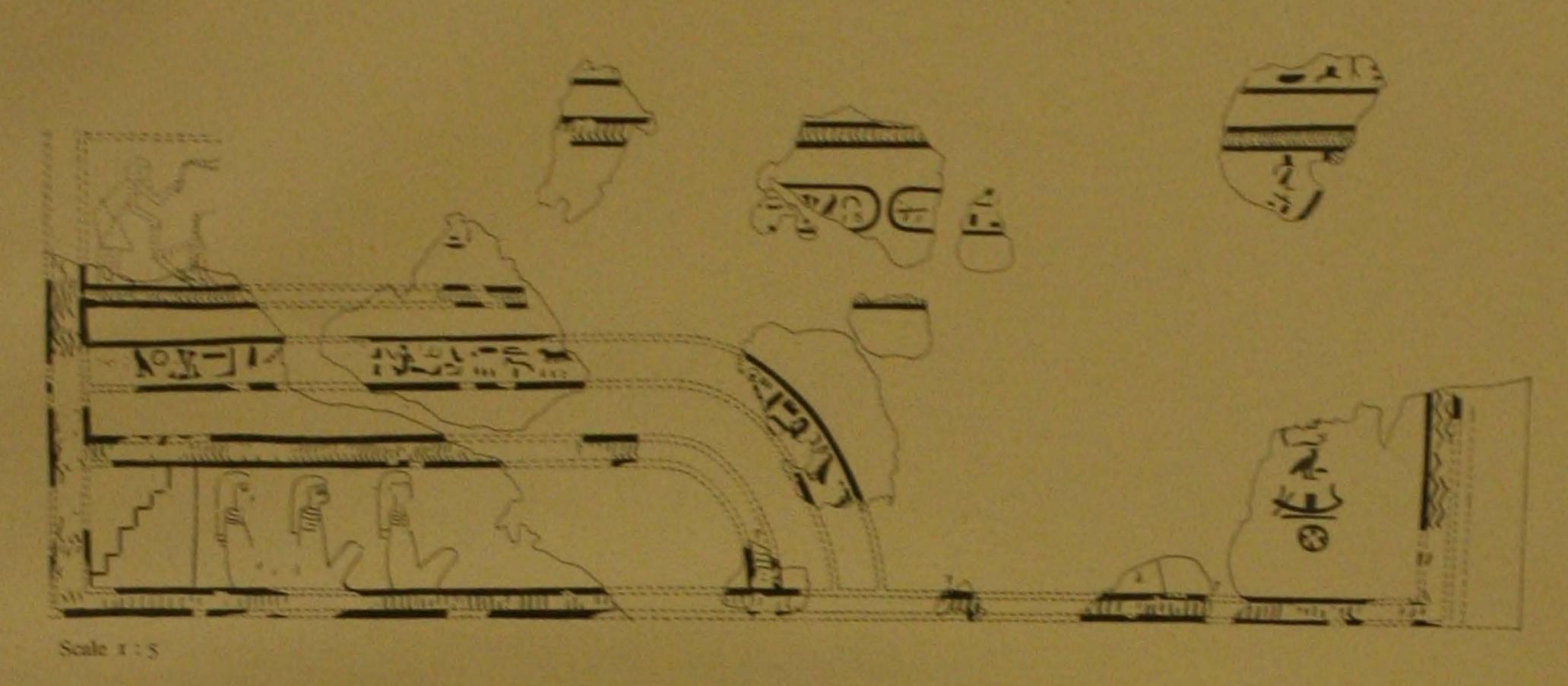
Scale 2:13



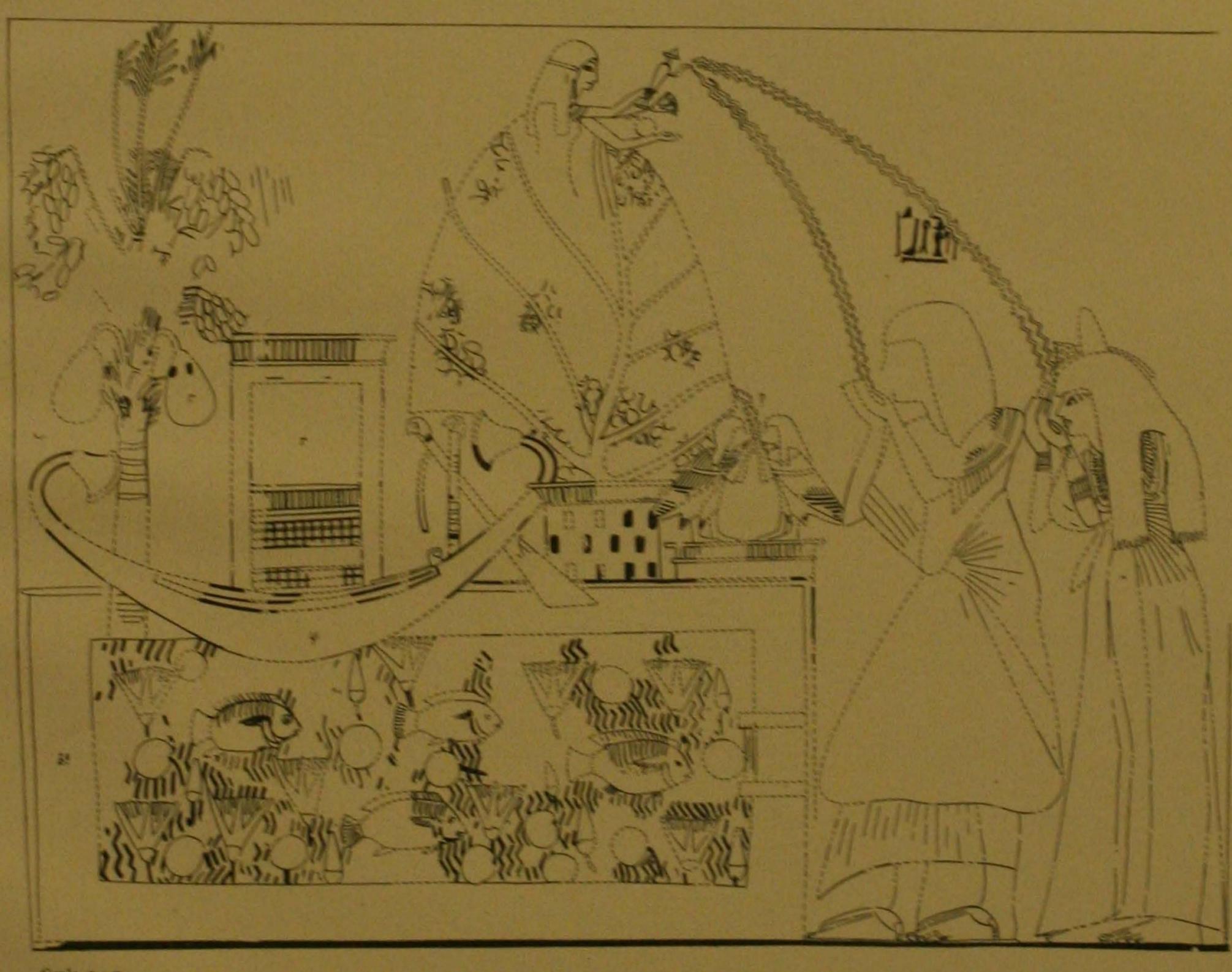
OUTER HALL. WEST WALL (FRAGMENT)



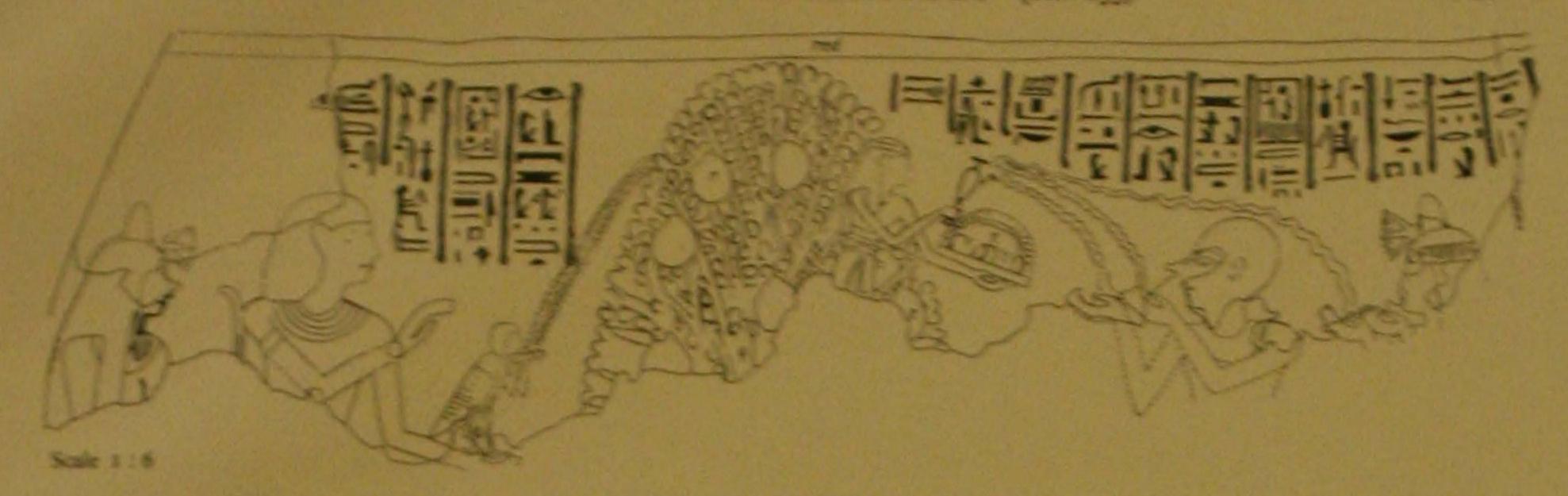
OUTER HALL NORTH WALL: WEST SIDE, TOP



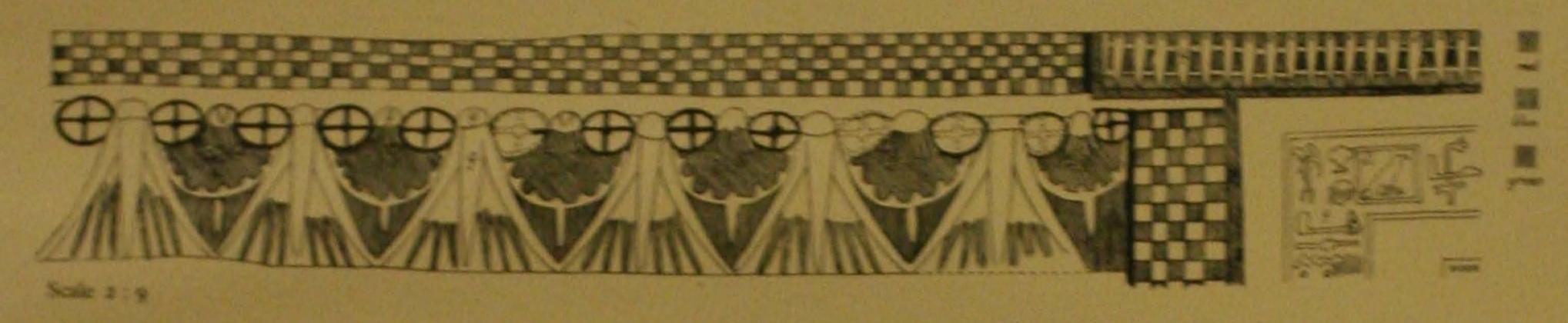
OUTER HALL. NORTH WALL: WEST SIDE, BOTTOM



Scale 2:9



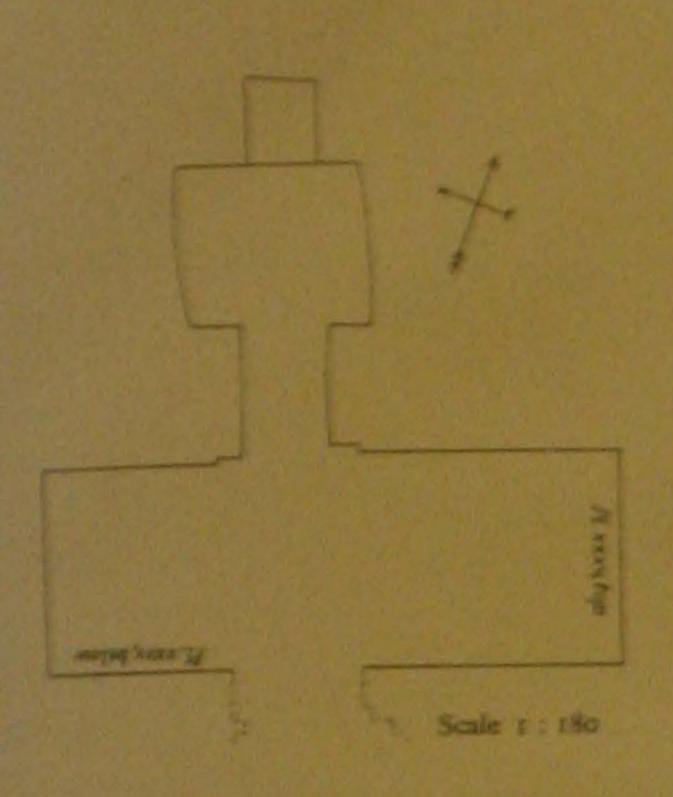
OUTER HALL NORTH WALL



FRIEZE



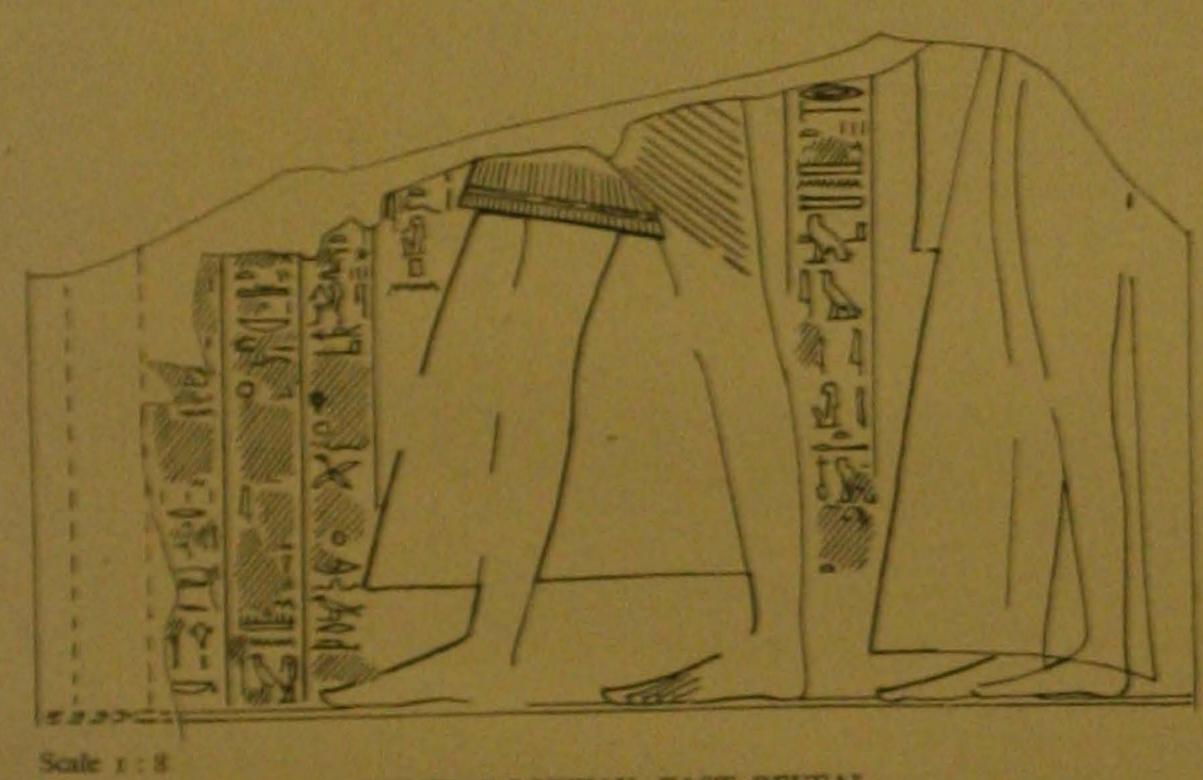
Scale 2 7



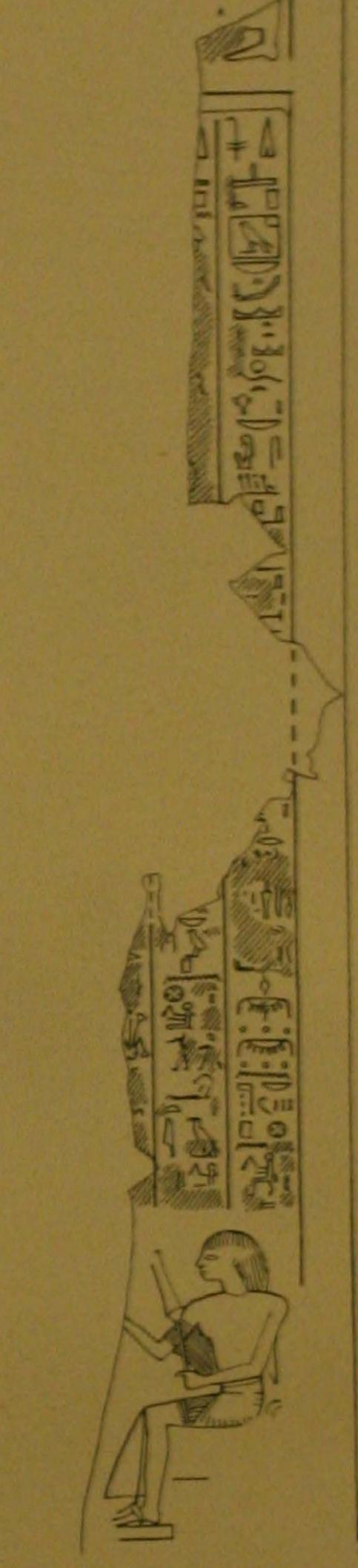
TOMB OF NEFERRONPET (No. 133)
PLAN



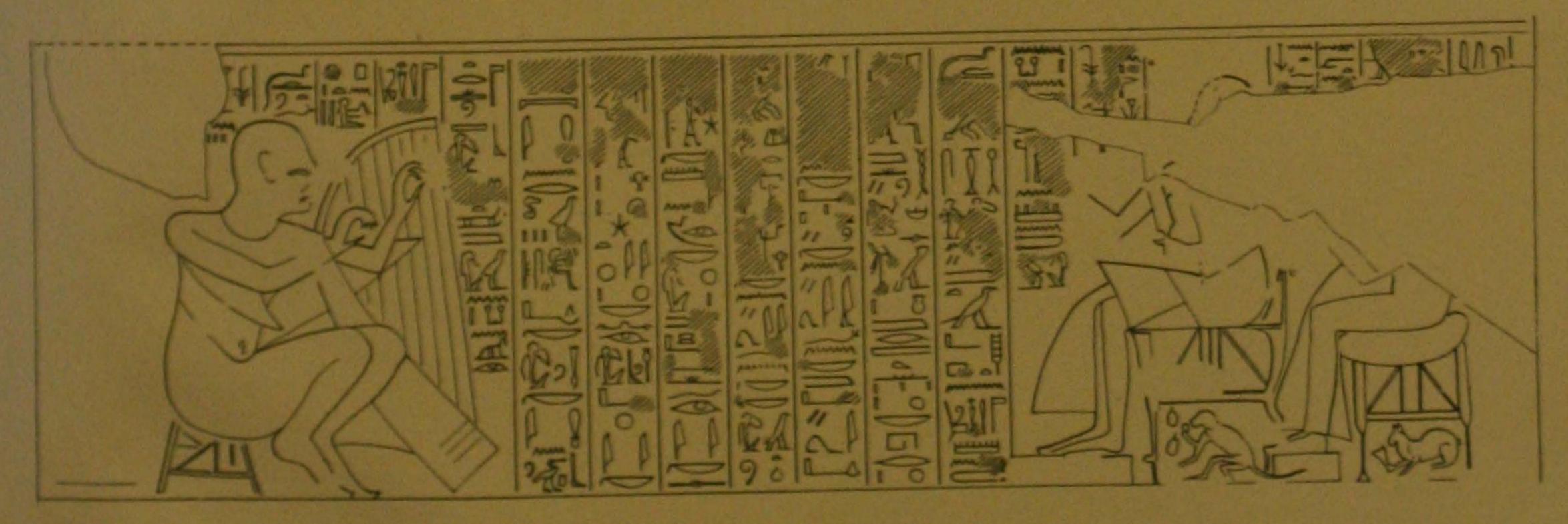
OUTER DOORWAY
EAST THICKNESS

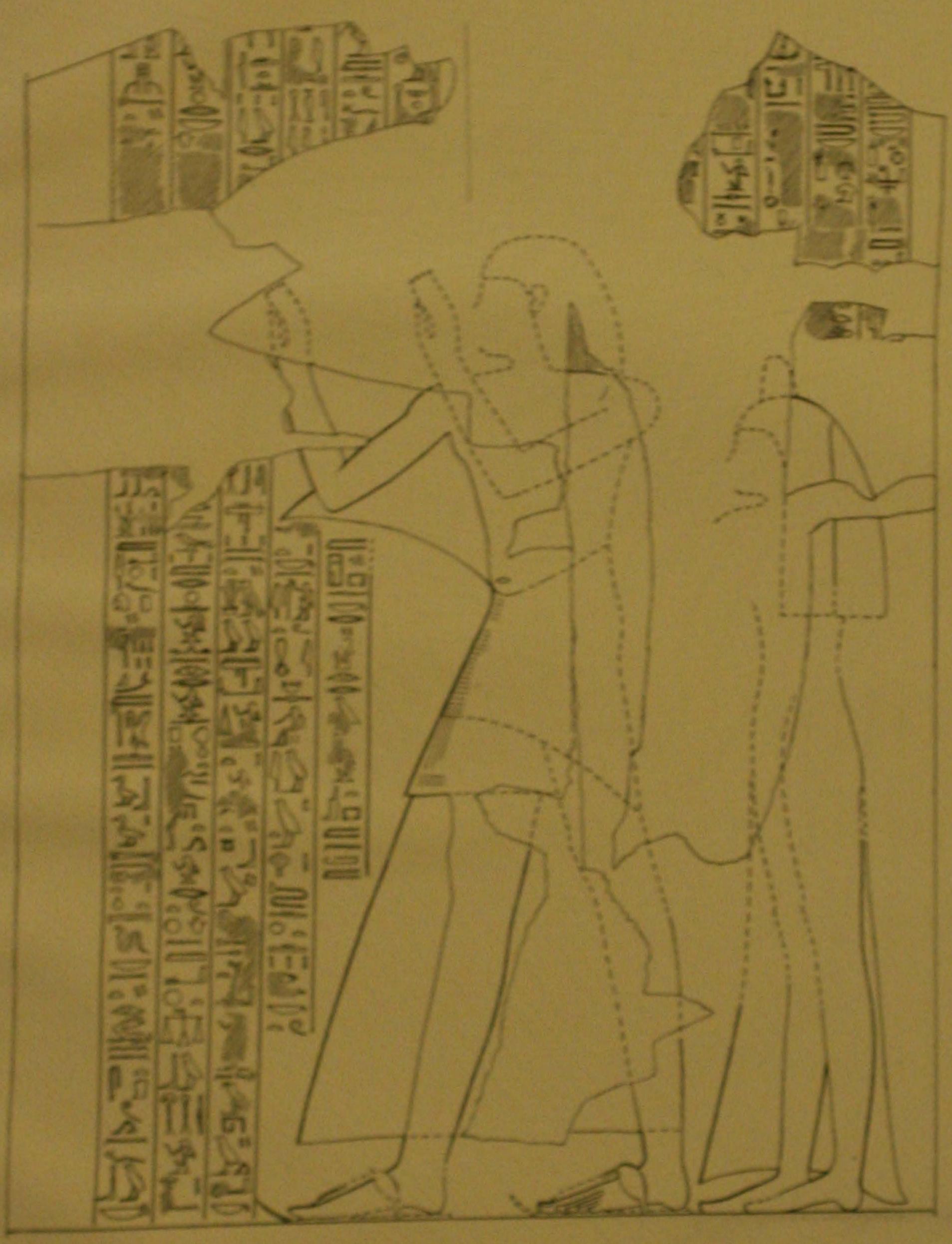


OUTER DOORWAY: EAST REVEAL

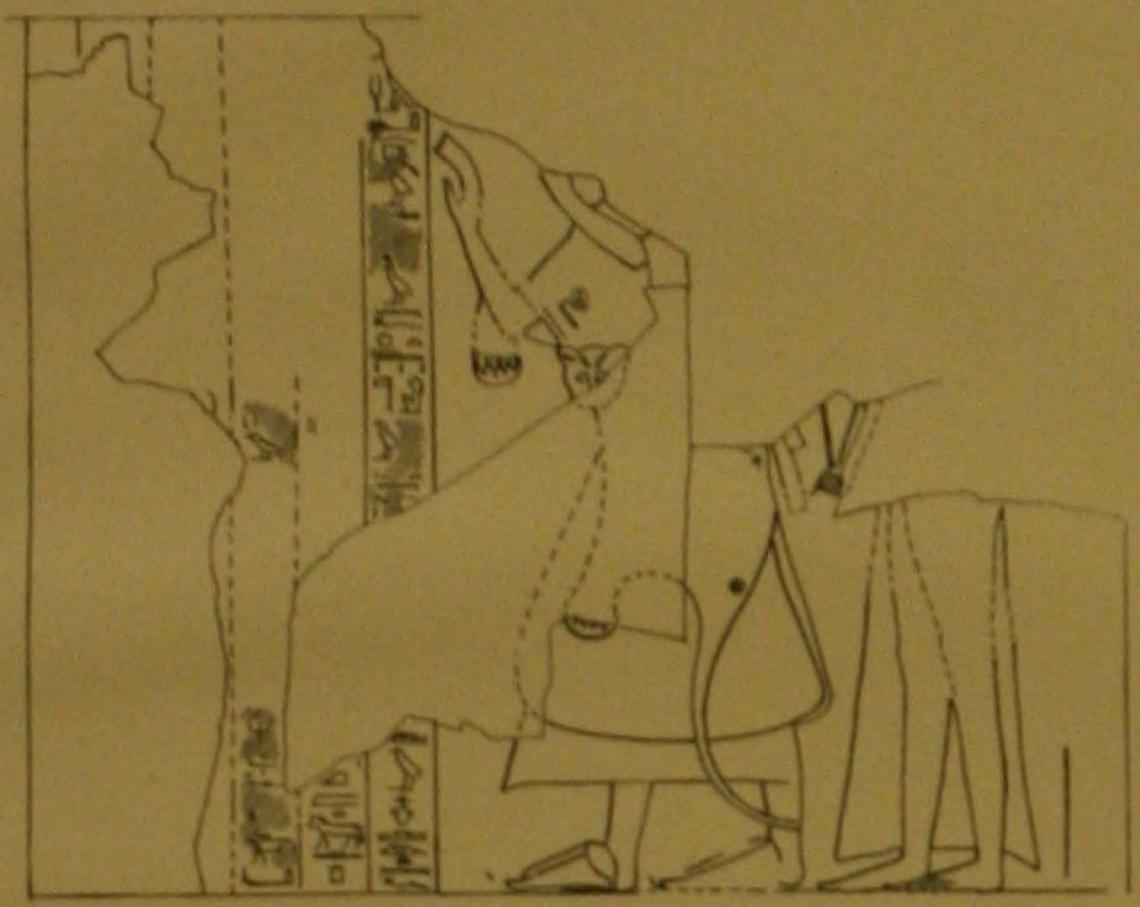


OUTER DOORWAY: WEST JAMB

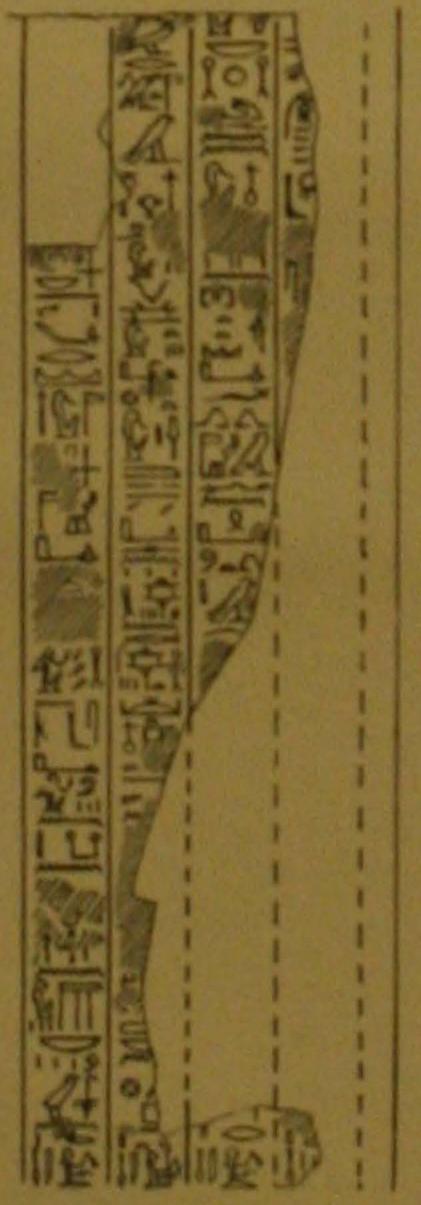




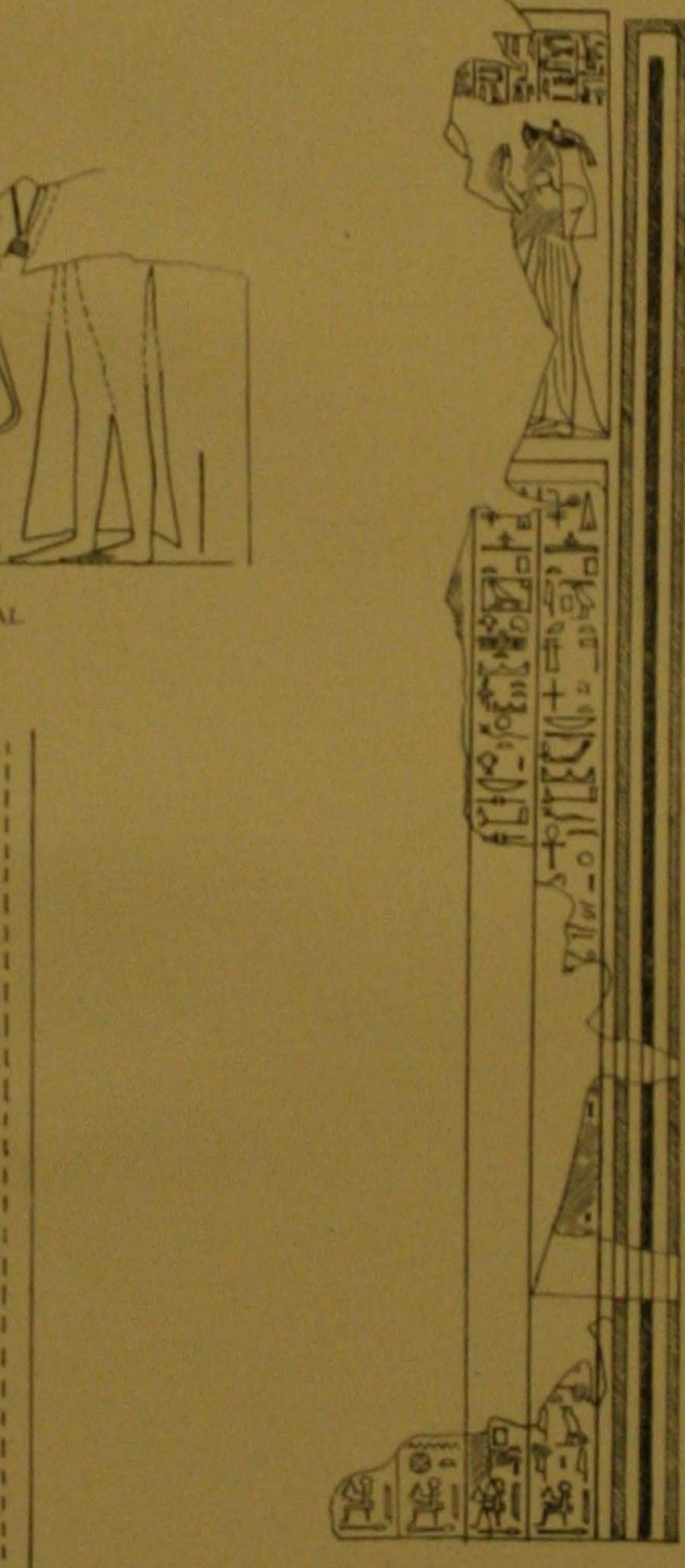
South to N.



INNER DOORWAY: EAST REVEAL



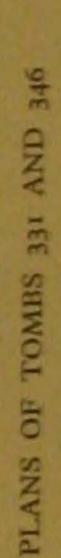
INNER DOORWAY: LINTEL.
AND WEST JAMB

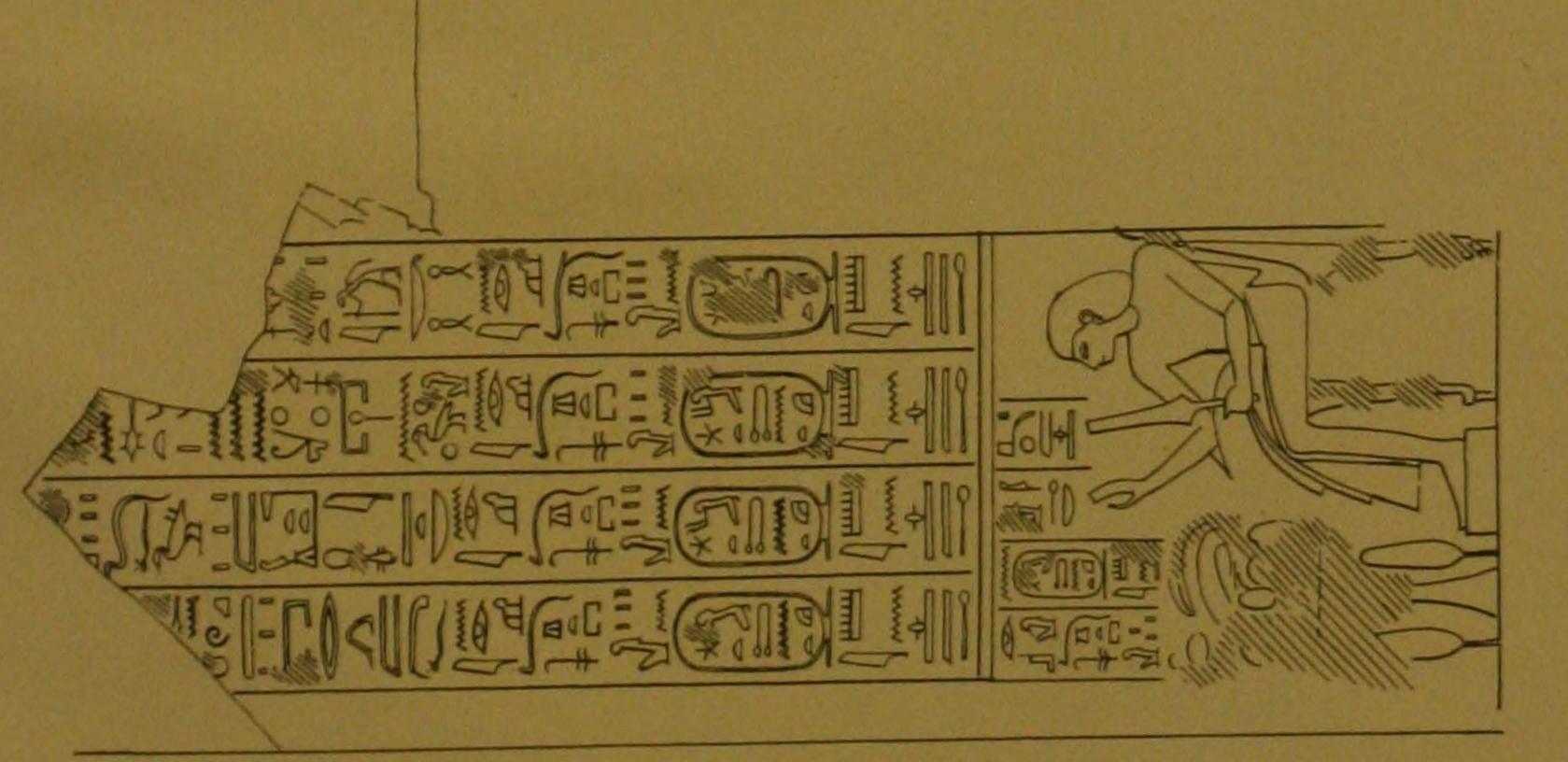




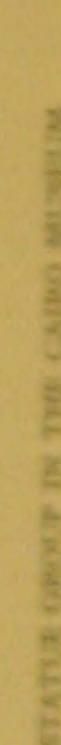
Scale 1:7

INNER DOORWAY: WEST REVEAL





UTER DOORWAY: NORTH JAMB





THE SHRINE